THE

POLITICAL WORKS

OF

FLETCHER OF SALTON;

WITH NOTES, &c.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE,

WITH OBSERVATIONS,

MORAL, PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL:

BY

R. WATSON, M. D.

" The people of this country are no more a people.
" They are annihilated; for they ceaſe to have any ſhare
" in the government."

JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

LONDON:

Printed for H. D. SYMONDS, Paternoſter-row.

M,DCCXC,VIII.

BIBLIOTECA MUSEUM

DEDICATION.

TO WILLIAM BOSVILLE OF YORKSHIRE.

A Deſire of being uſeful to ſociety, and a ſincere regard for the memory of FLETCHER, have induced me to ſubmit his writings to public opinion, truſting that they will contribute, in ſome degree, to the emancipation of our enſlaved country. In the following ſketch of FLETCHER's life, I have been more anxious about truth than the manner of expreſſing it, and paid little attention to courtly phraſes and fine turned periods. When liberty is in danger, ſuch niceties would ill-become the tone of my mind.

Some of the principles, which I have endeavoured to eſtabliſh, wear the appearance of novelty, and ſome of them may ſeem, at firſt ſight, to bear hard upon particular claſſes of ſociety.—They are, however, the reſult of reflection, in a ſituation

where it would have been almoſt preſumption to hope, and where deſpotiſm itſelf had no new terrors to inflict; and I can ſay, in the ſincerity of truth, that I believe them founded in the nature of things, and calculated to promote univerſal peace and harmony amongſt men.—Should they meet with the approbation of the friends of genuine liberty, it will be a ſufficient conſolation for the injuries I have received; ſhould they be deemed erroneous, I ſhall at leaſt have the heart-felt satisfaction of obeying the dictates of my conſcience, equally averſe to flatter men in power, or plant thorns in the boiom of unſuſpecting innocence.

The warrior, the robber, the gameſter, and courtezan have ſtatues erected to their memories, and volumes written in their praiſe; yet few raiſe monuments to the truly great.—Is it becauſe the good are obnoxious to corrupt governments; or does the hiſtorian approach them with a ſort of tremulous diffidence, afraid leaſt he ſhould not do justice to their merits?

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In the decline of empire, patriotiſm and philoſophy are treated as crimes, and their diſciples entombed in dungeons or excluded from ſociety. The only channel to preferment is through ſervility and meanneſs; and the greateſt favour the virtuous can expect is to be ſuffered to pine in obſcurity, neglected and forgotten, ſave only by the thinking few.—But error cannot be permanent.

The printing preſs, that tremendous artillery of reaſon, has ſhaken the thrones of tyranny and the altars of ſuperstition. All Europe has felt the concuſſion of opinion, and opinion is power. A new era is about to commence, and the hereditary ſyſtem muſt ſoon give way to the repreſentative.

Were Britons only to have a change of miniſters at this eventful period, however galling the preſent yoke, they had better remain quiet ſpectators of the farce; but if their breasts glow with a generous emulation, if they wiſh to live in fraternity at

home, and in peace and friendſhip with the neighbouring nations, it is abſolutely neceſſary that the whole body of the people be armed, and reſume their original importance in the ſcale of exiſtence.

Arms, and a proper regard to the diviſion of the ſoil, are the only ſafeguards of freedom; and without them, liberty and property are empty ſounds. Theſe are the doctrines which Fletcher and his biographer are ſolicitous to recommend; and though they are rather a ſeries of eſſays than a complete ſyſtem, they will be found to contain matters of the higheſt importance; and whoever underſtands them thoroughly will neither make a mercenary ſoldier, nor an obedient ſlave.

Since you are poſſeſſed of a large ſhare of landed property, and muſt, even according to the ariſtocratic notion, be intereſted in the proſperity and tranquility of the country, it is extremely pleaſing to me, that your opinions, on theſe ſubjects, coincide with my own. A change cannot be

expected

expected to add to your wealth, and the only advantage you can derive is the pleasure of seeing your fellow creatures happy and free. This is a gratification to which the bad are strangers, and which can only be felt by the benevolent and humane.

Whilst many, valuing themselves upon the accidents of birth, and the priviledges attached to riches, murder their time in riot and debauch, you have chosen, for your companions, those whose affections can neither be alienated by good nor bad fortune.—And whilst the administration, despising public opinion, and intoxicated with ideal success, have strewed the earth with dead bodies, and tinged the ocean with blood, you have poured the balm of consolation into the wounds of the oppressed, and lamented, in sorrow, the miseries of your country.—Persevere then in the same glorious cause, and the thanks of a regenerated people, accompanied with the approbation of your own mind, will ultimately reward your labours.

But alas! whilſt others enjoy, in anticipation, the happy days, when wars and perſecutions ſhall ceaſe, and when man ſhall every where meet a brother, I am compelled, by the iron hand of power, with wounds ſtill bleeding, to leave my country and friends, and doomed to wander an exile in a diſtant land. Ah! few loved their country better than I—none would have been more ready to die for it; yet for me there is now no country except the world; no friends except the friends of freedom. My favorite views are blaſted, and my hopes laid low in the duſt;—I will not, however, complain, nor gratify my enemies with humble petitions and unavailing tears. I carry with me a mind ſuperior to misfortune and unconſcious of guilt; and whatever may be my fate, I ſhall live and die happy in the reflection of having laboured, with ſome ſucceſs, in the vineyard of freedom. But though I am wounded, I am not ſlain—though forced to retire in diſguiſe, I may return in triumph.

Strangers

Strangers to the ſanguinary edicts of the Britiſh miniſtry will naturally enquire, what are the crimes which have drawn upon me ſo ſevere, ſo cruel a treatment? The anſwer is very ſhort, a determination to be free and an unconquerable love of liberty.—And although I am not inſenſible of private wrongs, I ſhall endeavour to bury their remembrance in oblivion, and employ my time and talents, wherever I may be, in the cauſe of humanity. In a conflict, between reaſon and prejudice, the friends of virtue are generally the firſt victims; but let tyrants beware: it is dangerous to drive the people to deſpair—when prayers and intreaties procure no relief, they may have recourſe to ſteel; and the country, which is curſed with a Ceſar, may give birth to a Brutus.

The life and writings of FLETCHER are moſt reſpectfully inſcribed to you, as a grateful tribute for your unwearied exertions in the campaigns of freedom; and

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becauſe you are the only rich man, in the circle of my acquaintance, with whom the unfortunate, provided they preſerve their integrity, can aſſociate on terms of pure equality.

London, 1798.

R. WATSON.

LIFE

LIFE

OF

FLETCHER OF SALTON.

CHAP. I.

The innocency of youth—patriotiſm—birth and education of Fletcher.

A Wiſh to ſecure the good opinion of our fellow creatures is natural to all. When the tender youth hears his parents relate the virtuous deeds of his anceſtors, his boſom glows with a generous emulation, and he fondly hopes, one day to merit ſimilar applauſe. On the other hand, the tears of ſorrow trickle down his cheeks at the bare recital of perſecuted innocence: the widow's moans, and the orphan's cries, draw forth his pity; and he longs to acquire the ſtrength of manhood, that he may avenge their wrongs. Treachery is ſo foreign to his nature, that he ſcarcely thinks it poſſible to betray; nor is it, till he has gained experience, and been frequently deceived, that he believes man to be a compoſition of wiſdom and folly.

The love of our country, and the approbation of our friends, during the early part of our lives, operate more powerfully than the love of money; and our firſt reſolution is a fixed determination to deſerve well of mankind. This inclination, which has been more or leſs felt by every individual, in every age, is never entirely rooted out. The priſoner, in his cell, if conſcious of the rectitude of his intentions, ſooths his misfortunes with the hopes, that poſterity will at leaſt do juſtice to his memory; and neither the love of liberty nor of life can prevail upon him to renounce his opinions, or degrade his character. Public cenſure is more tremendous than the approach of death.

Even the wicked man feels its effects in a very high degree, and is equally anxious, with the good, to maintain a fair reputation in the world: nor is there any one ſo loſt to a ſenſe of virtue, as to glory in his crimes. However he may endeavour to ſhun reflection, yet when forced to think, he cannot help regreting the innocence of youth; and although he may proſper in the acquiſition of riches, he is far from being happy. As age advances he becomes timerous and diſtruſtful: conſcious of having defrauded others, he ſuſpects every body around him. He paſſes ſleepleſs nights, tormented with the recollection of having deprived the helpleſs of their due: the ſcratching of a mouſe diſturbs his repoſe, and he is conſtantly alarmed, leſt thieves and robbers

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ſeize his ill-gotton wealth, and reduce him to a level with his fellow men. Sleep, the reſtorer of health and ſpirits to the weary, brings him no relief; ghoſts and ſpectres haunt his couch, and he is tortured with a never-dying flame. How forlorn his ſituation, ſhould he happen to meet with a reverſe of fortune! Having treated his inferiors with inſolent diſdain, he dreads to approach them.—In his proſperity he was ſurrounded by flatterers; in his adverſity he has not a ſingle friend. The very partners of his crimes forſake him, and death itſelf is not ſo terrible as the thoughts of ſupplicating thoſe whom he has injured. Unhappy wretch! in the midſt of ſociety he is a ſolitary exile, incapable of enjoyment, and yet without courage to die.

It has been frequently remarked, that thoſe who emigrate from their native country, at an early period of life, are conſtantly wiſhing to return. The plunderer of India, the more artful ſwindler of Leadenhall-ſtreet, and the induſtrious humble mechanic, equally feel the ſame impulſe. The Eſkimaux, who paſſes one half of the year in ſubterraneous caves, condemned to ſit by his glimmering lamp, living upon the oil of whales and the coarſeſt food, without ſeeing the light of the ſun for months together, would, if carried to the milder climates of France or Italy, feel himſelf unhappy, and long to rejoin his wretched countrymen. The Swiſs, even in

the hour of battle, when he hears the ſound of muſic, to which he has been accuſtomed in his youth, forgets the dangers of the field, and thinks of nothing but his native country. Kings and prieſts have taken advantage of this affection, which is commonly denominated patriotiſm; and when they intend making war upon their neighbours, never fail to repreſent them as the diſturbers of their domeſtic happineſs.

However ſome may affect to ſmile, it is certain, that baniſhment to England appeared as ſevere a puniſhment to the ancient Scots, as tranſportation to Botany Bay appears to the preſent generation. But without carrying this matter farther, let us enquire into the cauſe of this univerſal diſpoſition;—is it natural or artificial? Why ſhould the wiſe man, to whom all people are equally dear, in proportion to their virtue and talents, prefer barren mountains to plains covered with wine and oil, and watered with the moſt fertile ſtreams? Why renounce a climate, where the trees are conſtantly loaded with fruit and bloſſom, for a region producing nothing except heath and brambles?—Man is conſtantly in ſearch of happineſs; and although he frequently miſtakes the means, he ſtill continues to perſevere in purſuit of his darling object. In his infancy, he meets, on terms of equality, with other children; he ſpeaks the language of the heart, and feels himſelf

himſelf happy when ſurrounded by his friends and aſſociates. As he grows up, neceſſity or example prevails upon him to travel; and after having viſited foreign lands, and witneſſed the vices and intrigues which corrupt governments have taught all ranks to practiſe, he becomes diſguſted with foreigners, and longs to return to his native country, hoping to enjoy the innocence and ſincerity of youth. Upon his return, alas! innocence and ſincerity are no where to be found. They were only the companions of his tender years. Hence, he is apt to conclude, without enquiring into the cauſe, that man is naturally vicious; and deſpairing of reformation, becomes as much diſſatisfied with his countrymen, as he was with ſtrangers. If this theory be correct, it is clear that vice is not natural to man; and that patriotiſm is the effect of partial laws. "The love of one's country implies the hate of another," ſays an ingenious writer; and yet this affection is not the leſs amiable, till ſuch time as reaſon and philoſophy have taught us to look upon all the inhabitants of the earth as members of the ſame family.

Since innocence and a love of our ſpecies are natural to all, and a deviation from the paths of virtue attended with ſuch dreadful conſequences, it is ſurely an object of the firſt importance to point out the ſources from whence our calamities flow, the eaſieſt method of healing our bleeding wounds, and the means of ef-

fectually preventing ſimilar misfortunes in future. Much has been ſaid, by ſtateſmen and prieſts, about the beauty of virtue and deformity of vice; but as there never yet was a ſtateſman nor a prieſt* who traced vice to its true origin, we ſhall not take them for our model. Hiſtorians, in general, have flattered ſucceſsful uſurpation; without enquiring into the juſtice of the diſtinction, Ceſar has been dubbed a hero, and Cromwell a tyrant. Some, indeed, have been too indolent to think for themſelves, others too cowardly to ſpeak the truth. The writers of memoirs often abound in pleaſant anecdote, yet they have not been backward in offering incenſe to the unworthy great. Even philoſophy, the ſolace of the unfortunate, and the terror of deſpots, has been proſtituted at the ſhrine of power; as if it had been the object of its profeſſors to adminiſter to the paſſions, rather than to correct the judgment.—At the very moment they afford amuſement, they poiſon the channels of inſtruction.

Owing to ignorance and ſuperſtition, which create a variety of contending intereſts, the people have been kept in a moſt degraded ſtate, and the ſource of happineſs imperfectly underſtood:—inſtead of living in fraternity, as friends and brothers, the world has been converted into a charnel houſe, and man become the fierceſt

* See Ariſtotle, Buchanan, Harrington, &c.

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enemy of his kind. But however imminent the danger to individuals, who may happen to occupy the foremoſt rank, no period has been more favourable to the cauſe of liberty than the preſent; and it is with a deſign of ſupporting this cauſe that the following work is ſubmitted to public opinion.

The preſent ſhort ſketch of Fletcher's life will not be confined to a dry narrative of ſieges and battles, nor will it dwell long upon the changes of whigs and tories, of hunting parties and voluptuous feaſts. That taſk is reſerved for the worſhippers of kings: their blood-cemented thrones require advocates of a particular mould. We have a nobler object in view; it is to ſtrew the tomb of the patriot with wreaths of laurel, and raiſe a monument to departed greatneſs—to ſhew the riſing generation, that laſting fame is only allied to virtue; and that the good man will find admirers in every age and every country. From what has been premiſed, it is almoſt unneceſſary to add, that the thoughtleſs and diſſipated will find little recreation here. In reſpectful imitation of Fletcher, the language is ſerious and grave; the remarks, the effect of obſervation and experience.—And, in an eventful criſis, like the preſent, it is hoped they will meet with a careful peruſal from the friends of genuine liberty.

Andrew Fletcher of Salton, the ſubject of theſe memoirs, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Robert

Fletcher

Fletcher of Salton and Innerpeffer *. The name is French: and his anceſtors are ſaid to have been amongſt the followers of William the conqueror. His mother was daughter of Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan, a deſcendant of the ſame family with Robert de Bruce, king of the Scots. He was born in the year 1653, and had the misfortune to loſe his father at a very early age, when he was intruſted to the care of Dr. Burnet, rector of Salton, and afterwards biſhop of Saliſbury; a man well known to the political and literary world, for his exertions in the revolution of 1688, and his elaborate writings.

The loſs of a father, alike diſtinguiſhed for his generoſity and patriotiſm, was, in a great meaſure, ſupplied by the attention of an affectionate mother, and a diligent faithful preceptor; ſo that he made rapid progreſs in his ſtudies, diſcovering a marked predilection for the ancients, and a deſire of imitating their actions. He was a boy of an obſtinate, perſevering diſpoſition; the natural effect of a vigorous mind. He never gave an inſult; nor did he ever receive

* The authorities, when not otherwise distinguished, are taken from the writings and information of the ingenious Earl of Buchan; to whom the Editor returns his grateful acknowledgments for the polite manner in which he conveyed intelligence. Buchan is one of the few Scotsmen of fortune who possesses a taste for literature, a love of liberty, and an ardent affection for his native country.

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one with impunity. Bold as a lion, he ruſhed upon his antagoniſt, without calculating the danger, which frequently involved him in conſiderable difficulties. Notwithſtanding this unaccommodating temper, it was eaſy to govern him, provided his judgment was convinced; but neither threats nor puniſhments could make the leaſt impreſſion, if he thought himſelf in the right. His manner of expreſſing himſelf was blunt, but ſtrong. He did not attempt to apologize for his errors, and bore reproof with becoming firmneſs. A ſtranger to lying, he diſdained to avoid chaſtiſement, by any ſubterfuge. Though apparently ſurly, he was gentle and humane to the unfortunate, kind and obliging to the poor. Inquiſitive in the extreme, he was not ſatisfied with ſuperficial anſwers; and whilſt he ſeemed pleaſed with thoſe who gave him inſtruction, he looked with ſullen contempt on all who deceived him, or evaded his queſtions. Theſe qualities, although auſtere and uncommon in a boy, had ſomething attractive in them, and procured him the eſteem and regard of his acquaintance.

In his youth, Fletcher had the mortification of ſeeing his country dragooned, by the ſanguinary miniſters of Charles II: and the people, inſtead of uniting againſt the common enemy, occupied their time with religious quibbles and metaphiſical jargon. The Scots were enthuſiaſts in the cauſe of liberty; yet it was only

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the liberty of preaching and praying they had in view. Their ſolemn league and covenant was idolized as a god; and hundreds, merely for daring to think for themſelves, were led to the ſcaffold, glorying in their martyrdom, and embracing death with tranſports of joy.

During this puritanical phrenzy, the doctrines of Buchanan, the father of modern politics and modern learning, were neglected. The people applied themſelves to ſtudy the dogmas of the primitive churchmen, and thought liberty conſiſted in being permitted to repeat extempore prayers, and ſing hymns of their own compoſition. Civil rights were not generally underſtood. Such weak enthuſiaſts may be objects of pity; but thoſe who perſecute them, for conſcience ſake, are more cruel than the monſters of the deſert; and yet they were hunted, for a whole century, like partridges upon the mountains, by the agents of kings and biſhops: and defenceleſs men, women and children, after being plundered of their property, had their houſes conſumed to aſhes, and were butchered in cold blood. This is no exaggerated account. The page of hiſtory is every where blotted with a catalogue of ſimilar crimes: prieſts putting thouſands to death, in the name of a god of mercy; and kings, under the pretence of protecting liberty and property, laying waſte whole provinces with fire and ſword.

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As ſoon as Fletcher had finiſhed his education under Dr. Burnet, he made the tour of Europe to complete his ſtudies, and acquire a knowledge of the laws, cuſtoms and manners of foreign nations. We ſhall, therefore, leave him to proſecute his travels, and make ſuch obſervations on different governments as, we truſt, will enable our readers to form an accurate judgment in political matters.

CHAP. II.

Reflections on different forms of government.

ALL nations are ſubject to one of the three forms of government which follow, *viz.* the dominion of one individual, commonly called deſpotiſm; the dominion of a few, denominated ariſtocracy; or the will of the people, which is called democracy or republicaniſm: and there is not, perhaps, a nation in the univerſe that has not more or leſs inclined to all theſe forms at different periods. The degree of general happineſs, enjoyed under each, is as different as heat is from cold; and yet, what appears extraordinary to a ſuperficial obſerver, none of thoſe forms has been permanent. It ſhall be our endeavour, in this chapter, to rectify the political balance, and point out the cauſe of thoſe vibrations, which experience proves to be

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ſo deſtructive to the human race. Should we ſucceed, even in a ſmall degree, our object will be accompliſhed; nor ſhall we regret our labours, if our obſervations rouſe the attention of thoſe whoſe abilities and ſituation in life are better qualified to give celebrity to opinion.

The firſt form; or the dominion of one individual.

TO form a complete deſpotiſm, it is abſolutely neceſſary that nothing be hereditary, except the throne. The whole territory, without the leaſt exception, muſt be the property of the prince; and all offices at his diſpoſal: his will, the ſole arbiter of life and death, and whatever his wretched ſubjects are permitted to enjoy, muſt depend upon his whim and paſſion. As it is not poſſible for one individual, in an extenſive country, to occupy the whole territory himſelf, he will naturally divide it into a variety of provinces, and confer the management of them on his favourites, for a limited time, upon condition of their paying him a certain revenue, and bringing into the field, whenever he pleaſes, an army, raiſed and ſupported at their expence. The governors of the provinces will likewiſe find it convenient to divide their juriſdictions into ſmall ſhares, upon ſimilar conditions. And as they hold their dominion by a very ſlender tenure, and are liable to be degraded every moment, they will haraſs their

their ſlaves, and extort as much money from them as poſſible, to enable them to ſilence their rivals at court, and ſpend the remainder of their days in riot and debauch.

As ſuch a ſyſtem can only be maintained by force, it is neceſſary that the deſpot keep a mercenary army, conſtantly in pay. Without this precaution it would be impoſſible to enforce obedience to his orders, or prevent the governors of the provinces from conſpiring together and ſetting up for themſelves. An eſtabliſhed religion of the hierarchical form, is a very requiſite ingredient here; and as the tyrant will find it his intereſt to provide for the clergy, they, in return, will preach up paſſive obedience, and the moſt unlimited ſubmiſſion. The people are prohibited from reading, unleſs it be the edicts of the ſovereign, or the dogmas of the church; all political converſation is forbidden, and a gloomy, melancholy ſilence pervades the whole.

In this lamentable ſtate of the ſociety, man is little ſuperior to the beaſts of the field. The prieſt has the keeping of his conſcience; the tyrant is maſter of his life and property. The very agents of government themſelves, are as wretched as the other ſlaves; and in Turkey, the janizaries incline their heads to one ſide, when the grand ſenior paſſes along, as a token that he may ſever the

head from the body whenever he pleaſes. Let us, however, hope, the majority of the people of Great Britain, would rather ſee their country ſwallowed in the ocean, than ſubjected to a military deſpot. In ſuch a dreadful alternative, death ought to be preferred to ſlavery.

" When all is loſt, when hope can nothing give ;
" To die is duty,—infamy to live."

The ſecond form ; or, the dominion of a few.

THE dominion of a few may conſiſt of a monarch and hereditary nobleſſe, as in Britain, or an ariſtocracy as was formerly the caſe in Venice, and in ſome of the cantons of Switzerland. The monarch may be hereditary, as in England, or elective, like the emperor of Germany. Indeed election was once common to all the thrones of Europe. In a mixed government, where the chief magiſtrate is hereditary, he muſt have extenſive domains, and the reſt of the territory be divided amongſt rich proprietors; having a ſhare in the legiſlature. To preſerve the ſovereign power to a few, the laws of primogeniture muſt be ſtrictly adhered to, and the property follow the eldeſt ſon. In countries, like Turkey and Ruſſia, where one individual reigns, without controul, the word liberty is ſeldom pronounced:

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in ariſtocratic countries, it will be the conſtant theme, and all laws will be nominally made for the benefit of the people; although their will is never conſulted, nor their intereſt attended to. This mixed form of government, from the very nature of its compoſition, cannot be laſting. The laws will be voluminous and contradictory, and different meanings attributed to them at different periods.

The object of the chief magiſtrate will naturally be to increaſe his own power, and render himſelf independent of the other proprietors, which he cannot effectually do, without a mercenary army. Should the proprietors prove ſo blind to their own intereſts, as to permit a mercenary army, from that moment the balance is broken, and the government, whatever ſhape it may aſſume, inclines to deſpotiſm. As it would not be prudent, in the prince, to meddle raſhly with private property, he will carefully conceal his deſigns; and endeavour to collect taxes in the name of the law, with which he will corrupt one part of the legiſlature, and with his army, he will intimidate the other. Eſtates may be ſo taxed as to be of little value to the original poſſeſſors; and it is not the firſt time that lands, in conſequence of vexatious burdens, have been voluntarily re-

ſigned to the crown.* When he ſees their former ſpirit broken, and has a force, ſufficiently powerful to execute his orders, he will not fail to treat the ariſtocracy, as they have treated the people, and the government will degenerate into a ſettled deſpotiſm.

If the principal proprietors foreſee the deſigns of the chief magiſtrate, they will take care to prevent his having a ſtanding army, without which no individual ever dared to impoſe arbitrary taxes, or enſlave his country. In order to prevent the encroachments of the chief magiſtrate, the proprietors will naturally court the aſſiſtance of the people; the chief magiſtrate will find it his intereſt to do the ſame; by which means, they will become of ſome importance, and be allowed to enjoy certain advantages. During this conteſt for power, a great deal of circumſpection is neceſſary, otherwiſe the people will diſcover, that they are the real fountain of wealth, and that all dominion originates with themſelves. In ſuch circumſtances, it has been reckoned good policy in the chief magiſtrate and proprietors to forget their mutual jealouſies, and beſtow charters and privileges on particular towns, that ſo, by artfully balancing one part of the people againſt the

* See the hiſtory of Denmark.—This has likewiſe happened in the Fens in England.

other,

other, they may prevent them from conſidering the ſtruggle as a common cauſe.

An eſtabliſhed church will be found of great utility in ſupport of this jarring ſyſtem. The clergy, who are all things to all men, will be ever ready to throw their influence into the preponderating ſcale; for although an abſolute deſpotiſm is moſt ſuitable to their gloomy diſpoſitions, yet they are too cunning to worſhip the ſetting ſun. If the power of the king prevail, they will preach reſignation to the will of god; tell us that the more patiently we ſuffer here, the more happineſs we ſhall enjoy hereafter; and that the lord chaſteneth all thoſe whom he intends for the kingdom of heaven. If the other proprietors prevent the king from becoming deſpotic, and maintain their conſequence, without ſharing it with the people, they will naturally have the gift of the church livings; and the clergy will then prove faithful auxiliaries to them. They will compare them to the patriarchs of old, gloſs over their profligate lives, and recommend reverence and ſubmiſſion to the great ones of the earth. Should the people obtain the principal ſway, the diſpoſal of the church livings will fall into their hands, and then the clergy will not fail to exclaim againſt the wickedneſs of kings and nobles. They will even affect to be the guardians of the people's rights.

It muſt be allowed, however, this ſtate of ſociety is not their proper element: their influence keeps pace, with the influence of the prince, and the ſaying of king James may very properly be reverſed; for, without the gift of prophecy, it may be predicted, no king no biſhop.

The third form; or, the will of the people.

This form of government, in ſupport of which, every individual is equally intereſted, has never been fairly eſtabliſhed, upon a large ſcale; and, like moſt diſcoveries, which are both ſimple, and of great utility, when properly underſtood, ſeems to have been long concealed from mankind. Being of more importance than any other diſcovery, ancient or modern, it has met with more oppoſition from the ignorant and venal. In a pure democracy, the territory muſt be divided into an immenſe number of ſmall ſhares; and every individual, whether rich or poor, muſt have a vote, either by himſelf, or by his repreſentative, in framing the laws. As it is the object of the people, to have the greateſt quantity of liberty, at the leaſt poſſible expence, the whole genius and talents of the country being brought into action, the government will naturally be as perfect, as the ingenuity of man can make it. It will not oppreſs the many, by granting favours

to

to a few, nor bear harder upon one claſs than another.

Intereſt is the lever that moves the world; it is the grand ſtimulus of human actions. Like gravitation it's laws are univerſal, and when taken in a philoſophic point of view, is productive of the greateſt happineſs. All laws muſt proceed from one individual, from a few, or from the people at large. If one individual make the laws, he will conſult his private intereſt; if a few make them, they will conſult the intereſt of the party, or caſt to which they belong; and if the people at large make the laws, they will naturally conſult the public intereſt. And the laws are good or bad, and the liberty of the people in exact proportion to the number of thoſe concerned in making them; for whoever is compelled to obey laws, to which he has not given his conſent, is in reality, a ſlave. Should any one pretend to act contrary to his intereſt, it would be no more a proof that intereſt has ceaſed to operate, than it would be a proof that gravitation has ceaſed to act, when we ſee a feather fly upwards.

We have ſhewn above, that the will of one individual produces poverty and chains; the will of a few, a government more turbulent, ſometimes inclining to deſpotiſm, ſometimes to liberty, the people, in either caſe, are the prize of the

ſucceſs-

ſucceſsful party, and flattered or neglected, according as their aſſiſtance is wanted. In the third form, the will of the people is the eſtabliſhed law, and their proſperity the object of the government. It is granted, that a nation, emerging from ſlavery, would form laws very different from one more advanced in civilization; yet as the ſame cúſtoms and manners are not common to both, ſuch a difference would be for their mutual advantage; and alterations would continue to be made, till experience had taught them the higheſt perfection of human wiſdom.

The cruel and unnatural law of primogeniture, which confers the property on the eldeſt ſon, and ſends the reſt helpleſs into the world, would be aboliſhed, under a repreſentative government. This law, is one of the moſt unjuſt that ever diſgraced human nature. The parents are often compelled to ſacrifice a blooming offspring, to a barbarous policy. The head is made too large for the body; and as if durability conſiſted in having one part weak and another ſtrong, proportion is neglected; and every art practiſed to perpetuate this unnatural monſter. If an unequal diviſion of property were to be recommended, ſurely the youngeſt children ought to have the largeſt ſhare, as they are the leaſt capable of taking care of themſelves, and moſt liable to be deprived

deprived of their parents. All monopolies and corporations would be done away. A monopoly is the depriving the multitude of their rights, and transferring them to a few, for a gratuity to government; for example, the eaſt India company pay a certain ſum to the miniſter, for the excluſive privilege of trading to China for tea, &c. Having no rivals, they are enabled to put what price they pleaſe upon their articles, ſo that tea coſts the conſumer many times its intrinſic value; nor is this the ſole injuſtice. They not only demand an exorbitant price, but frequently adulterate it; and in place of drinking a nouriſhing beverage, we are neceſſitated to ſip a poiſonous drug, which undermines the conſtitution and impairs the intellect.

CHAP. III.

Thoughts on government continued.

THE form of the government, under which we live, notwithſtanding the opinion of Pope,* and other favourite authors, is the moſt intereſting,

* For forms of government, let fools conteſt;
Whate'r is beſt adminiſtered is beſt. *Pope's Eſſay on Man.*

that

that ever occupied the attention of man. It is the polar ſtar that leads us to bliſs or miſery. The progreſs of every art and ſcience depends on it; and the ſum of human felicity may be as exactly aſcertained, by attending to the form of the government, as the temperature of the air, or the ſtrength of ſpirits. If this doctrine be not ſufficiently obvious, it does not ariſe from any defect in the theory, but from the manner of explaining it. Let us therefore once more obſerve, that if one individual make the laws, the government muſt partake of the monarchic form, and be deſpotic. There will be no written regulations; and the lives and property of the people, if ſlaves can be ſaid to enjoy life or property, will depend upon the will of the prince, who muſt be ſole proprietor of the ſoil.

If the power of making the laws be limited to a few, the government may be either a mixed monarchy, or an hereditary ariſtocracy. There will be a variety of written laws; but they will be obſcure, and interpreted differently at different times, according as the intereſt of the parties, of which the legiſlature is compoſed, happens to preponderate. If the influence of the monarch prevail, the laws will be explained arbitrarily and unjuſtly. If the ariſtocracy prevail, the judges will adhere more cloſely to form, and affect

affect to be candid and impartial; becauſe it will be their intereſt to ſooth the prejudices of the people, without whoſe co-operation they cannot withſtand the intrigues of the court. Beſides, a numerous body of men never avow themſelves the ſupporters of tyranny.

Under a deſpotic government, it would be abſurd to look for a conſtitution, every thing depending on the humour of the prince. In a mixed, or ariſtocratic form, vibrating between deſpotiſm and liberty, although there are written laws, there cannot be a written conſtitution; becauſe it is impoſſible to divide the territory ſo exactly between the prince and the other proprietors; as to prevent one party from encroaching upon the other, and a conſtitution would be occaſionally obnoxious to each. Another reaſon for not having a conſtitution is, that it would not be politic to let the great body of the people know that they are ſlaves, which muſt be the caſe, if excluded from a ſhare in the legiſlature. In a mixed government, the prince and the ariſtocracy muſt be the proprietors of the ſoil.

If the people at large have a vote, either by themſelves, or through their repreſentatives in framing the laws, the government will be of the republican, or repreſentative form. Nothing, except the produce of talents, induſtry and la-

bour

bour can be hereditary. Offices may poſſibly continue, although it would be dangerous, in the ſame family for ages; yet the occupiers muſt fill them, from the good opinion of their fellow citizens, not from any pretended right in themſelves. The people will have a written conſtitution, that they may know whether their agents fulfill their engagements. The laws will be plain, ſimple, and explained, according to their literal meaning, becauſe they cannot be executed till ſubmitted to, and approved of, by a majority, and the people will only approve of ſuch laws, as are for their own advantage. The repreſentatives muſt obey the orders of their conſtituents, who will retain a power of recalling them at pleaſure, and puniſhing them, if they violate their truſt. Should they attempt to act, contrary to their orders, inſtead of repreſenting a free nation, they would only repreſent themſelves; and from being the organs of the people, would degenerate into a gang of ariſtocratic uſurpers, guilty of the baſeſt treaſon.

Under a deſpotiſm, the tyrant may confer millions upon his favourites, for it is only taking the property from one part of his ſlaves, and giving it to another. Nothing is taken from himſelf. In an ariſtocratic government, there will likewiſe be a great deal of money laviſhed upon the

the favourites of the ruling faction; becauſe nothing is taken from thoſe in power. The money, which they have at command, is extorted from the people, under the denomination of taxes, free gifts, loans and ſubſidies. Under both, no more will be allowed the multitude, than a bare ſubſiſtence. The tyrant, ſolely bent on his pleaſure, will ſuffer every thing to fall into decay, and his ſlaves will not be ſo productive, as thoſe of a mixed government, which containing more information, will employ all its ingenuity, in turning them to its advantage. Under the former, the people will be more indolent and ſuperſtitious; under the latter, they will be brutalized with conſtant labour. In a republican government there will be no larger ſalaries than are neceſſary; no uſeleſs places nor penſions; becauſe it is the intereſt of the people to part with as little of their money as poſſible. They will reward their ſervants handſomely; but to give them more than they deſerve, would be taking money out of their own pockets, and enabling them to become dangerous citizens.

We ſhall now place this ſubject, in another point of view, and lay it down as an axiom, that the government of every country, depends upon the diviſion of the ſoil. If there be only one proprietor, as in Turkey, the government muſt be deſpotic.

If there be a conſiderable number, as in England, it will be ariſtocratic; and to prevent its becoming popular, there muſt be ſuch laws as primogeniture and entail. If there be no partial laws, prohibiting parents from dividing their eſtates amongſt their children; no monopolies, which make the few rich, at the expence of the many, the territory will be naturally divided, into a great number of ſhares, and the government muſt be republican. Without attending to the diviſion of the ſoil, it would be of no importance to the cauſe of liberty, to put a tyrant to death, as very often happens in Algiers, and other deſpotic countries. Whatever the diſpoſition of the ſucceſſor may be, he will as certainly become a tyrant, as the ſhadow follows the ſubſtance, provided he is ſuffered to retain poſſeſſion of the whole territory. On the other hand, it is impoſſible to eſtabliſh a complete deſpotiſm, unleſs the prince be ſovereign of the ſoil.

Suppoſe all the ariſtocracy of a country were to be annihilated in one day, upon the next a freſh brood of ariſtocrats would ſpring up, as oppreſſive as the former, unleſs the laws of primogeniture, monopolies, corporations, and privileges of every denomination, were aboliſhed. And whatever the intention of individuals may be, a formidable ariſtocracy can never be organized without partial laws:

laws: for an ariſtocracy is nothing more nor leſs than the effect of dividing the territory, into a certain number of ſhares, and preventing thoſe ſhares, by particular laws, from being ſubdivided.

Were a country, enjoying equal laws, and divided into a great number of ſmall lots, invaded by a mercenary army, in the pay of one or many tyrants, it would be impoſſible to convert it, into a monarchic or ariſtocratical form. The natives, intereſted in the ſoil, would never reſign their property, but with their lives. It might be poſſible, although there be no ſimilar example in hiſtory, to exterminate ſuch a people, it would be impracticable to ſubdue them. Suppoſe the inhabitants of ſuch a country were, in a fit of inſanity, to chooſe a king to govern them, and that they were to make him hereditary, inveſting him with abſolute power, he would not be able to preſerve his influence for a ſingle month, unleſs they were to reſign their eſtates to him. And it is juſt as natural to ſuppoſe, that people, enjoying equal laws, and all the comforts of life, would unanimouſly drown themſelves in the ocean, as voluntarily give up their property. Thus then dominion follows landed property, whether poſſeſſed by one, by a few or by the many; and whoever are in poſſeſſion of the ſoil, will moſt undoubt-

edly make the laws to their own advantage. On this hinge reſts the foundation of politics, and this is the philoſophers ſtone ſo much ſought for in vain.

I am not inſenſible, that Great Britain, at this moment, preſents a phenomenon in the political world, in direct oppoſition to the doctrines we have been eſtabliſhing; but this deviation, in the balance, is only of a temporary nature. The real proprietors of the ſoil have little influence in the britiſh ſenate at preſent. A majority of the legiſlature is compoſed of eaſt India adventurers, ſoldiers of fortune, borough-mongers and ſpeculators in finance. This combination, as formidable as it is new, has, properly ſpeaking, no country. Some of them have amaſſed princely fortunes in the Indies, by deſolating wars and unblushing extortion. Others have profited from the diſtreſſes of their country; and all of them wiſh to bury the remembrance of their former actions in new names, and dazzling titles. By means of immenſe wealth, they purchaſe ſeats in the houſe of commons,* where they invariably vote

* A borough-broker informs me, that the ordinary price of a ſeat, in the houſe of commons, at a general election, is £5000.—And as the parliament is ſuppoſed not to continue more than five ſeſſions, the price falls in value about £1000 every

vote with the miniſter, who, in return, not only ſcreens them from proſecution; but furniſhes them with freſh patents to commit new depredations. Having few connections in the country, they are indifferent about its fate: provided they ſhare the ſpoil, they care little for the misfortunes they inflict.

The method they have ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed is this, they know from experience, for they have governed by terror, that as ſoon as you infuſe fear into any animal, however ſtimulated by hunger or ferocious by nature, you may not only approach him with ſafety, but treat him as you pleaſe. Fear deprives him of the power of reſiſtance, and the habit of reflection. Applying this principle to Britons, they took advantage of ſome exceſſes committed in France, and repreſented all reformers as ſanguinary, cruel men, whoſe ſole object was rapine and death. The rich man was alarmed for his property; the religious for his god: and

every ſucceeding year. J. Horne Tooke offered to prove that ſeats, in the houſe of commons, were bought and ſold, like cattle in Smithfield Market.—And Sir Brook Boothby ſays, the houſe of commons "chiefly conſiſts of placemen, penſioners, hungry expectants, India delinquents, and every other deſcription of miniſterial dependants, kenneled like hounds, and crouching for employment; repreſentaitves repreſenting nothing but their own perſonal intereſt."

thouſands were alarmed without being able to aſſign a cauſe. The object was now obtained: the proprietors of the ſoil became the dupes of a deſigning faction, and all power was converted, from its natural channel, into the hands of a foreign intereſt, and the foreign intereſt, as might have been expected, ſold it to the miniſter. The circumſtance has no parallel, neither will its conſequences. For what may we not dread from men, who, ſtrangers to every tender emotion, are profeſſed dealers in ſlaves and trafficers in human blood? The ariſtocracy of this country, for a long time, made laws for diſtant nations, and carried fire and ſword into the eaſt and weſt Indies; and now the Nabob of Arcot and other deſpots might legiſlate for us. And the very Agents, who were employed to enſlave the Indians, might undermine the government of Great Britain; as if it had been decreed by fate; that "the laws of nature, and the precepts of wiſdom and truth cannot be trampled upon in vain."*

Provided man were compelled to labour, from early on monday morning, till late on ſaturday night, in order to procure a ſcanty ſubſiſtence, ſurely he could not be conſidered, as the peculiar favourite of heaven; the condition of the

* Volney's Ruins of Empires.

horſe

horſe and the ox would be preferable to his, for they enjoy more eaſe and perform leſs labour. Beſides, they do not anticipate evil; having no fears about futurity, they are perfectly happy, if the wants of the moment be abundantly ſupplied. It is not ſo with man. He cannot enjoy the preſent unleſs the future proſpect be agreeable. This diſtinction clearly proves, that man was deſtined, by nature, for ſuperior happineſs; and as his views extend beyond the day, he ought to be able, in the prime of life, not only to live with comfort, but lay up a ſufficiency againſt old age.

At firſt view it appears aſtoniſhing, that notwithſtanding the various improvements in agriculture and mechanics, during the laſt 30 years, the price of all the neceſſaries of life continues to increaſe, the wages of the poor alone remaining almoſt ſtationary.

" In vain, kind nature ſwells the teeming grain;
Soft ſhowers diſtil, and ſun's grow warm in vain."

Every thing is revolutionary and ſubject to change, except their unhappy lot; as if nature had ſaid, no change of circumſtances ſhall ameliorate your condition, whether the earth produces a fruitful or a ſcanty harveſt, your ſituation ſhall continue the ſame. In war and peace,

in

in ſummer and winter, ſtill you muſt labour and toil for your ſuperiors. It is not your province to enquire into the cauſes of your miſery: your duty is to obey.—If the earth do not produce a ſufficiency for man, nature muſt have been guilty of much cruelty; for why give life to beings, without ſending a competency for their ſubſiſtence? Nature has done her part; and all our wants originate from the vices of the government, under which we happen to live.

There are two kinds of labour held in different eſtimation. They are ſtill more different in their effects, and denominated productive and unproductive labour. The farmer, mechanic, and all thoſe who cultivate the arts and ſciences, or inſtruct their fellow citizens belong to the former. The prieſt, the ſoldier, and the whole tribe of courtiers belong to the latter. The labour of the firſt claſs increaſes the productions of the earth, and renders the comforts of life of eaſy acceſs. The labour of the ſecond produces nothing: and as they do not add to the national ſtock, they may be conſidered as ſo many drones, devouring the property of others. Nothing is more abſurd than to ſuppoſe, that placemen and penſioners are neceſſary, becauſe they furniſh employment for the poor. If there were no placemen and penſioners, the poor would labour for themſelves, and their work

work would be more chearful. Were every individual to perform ſomething uſeful to ſociety, it would not require above one hour in the day to produce twice the quantity of wealth, that Britain contains; and there is not a court-bred lady, who paints and attends levees, nor a lounger, who ſtrolls the ſtreets of London, who does not undergo more fatigue, than would fall to their ſhare in the grand diviſion of labour; which, if properly regulated, would be an amuſement inſtead of a burden.

Suppoſe an iſland to contain an hundred inhabitants, and ten of them were to ſay to their companions, we are deſcended from illuſtrious predeceſſors, our fathers fought the battles of kings, and their valour is recorded in the book of fame; no vulgar blood flows in our veins, nor were ever our hands defiled with ignoble labour. It belongs to you to cultivate the earth, which is our patrimony, and manufacture its productions for our uſe: it is enough that we allow you to live. —And ſuppoſe ten others were to join them, ſaying, we are the meſſengers of heaven, to whom the almighty has revealed the decrees of fate, and ſent to point out the paths, in which you are to walk. Reaſon is fallacious, and man muſt not follow the dictates of his conſcience. It is his duty to believe, without enquiry, whatever the

almighty

almighty communicates through us; and ſuch, as do not believe, ſhall be condemned to everlaſting puniſhments, in the world to come. Were the people credulous enough to give ear to the pretenſions of theſe noble and divine hypocrites, it is ſelf-evident the remaining eighty would be compelled to perform the ſame quantity of labour, that ought to have been divided amongſt the hundred. Let us proceed a little farther with our iſlanders, and ſuppoſe that thoſe twenty, who produce nothing, thinking it troubleſome to wait upon themſelves, ſhould pick out ſome of the moſt healthy young people to attend them, the labour of the remainder muſt undoubtedly be increaſed; nor could they, with the utmoſt induſtry, ſupply their wants, were it not owing to a variety of improvements in agriculture and mechanics, which abridge labour. Unfortunately, the avarice of their tyrants knows no bounds; it keeps pace with the genius and induſtry of the people.

They next diſcover that the iſlanders are in danger of being invaded by their neighbours, and the flower of their youth is put under the direction of ſome of the nobles, and trained to arms, under pretence of guarding the people from ſurprize; but the real deſign is to keep them in ſubjection. In this unnatural ſtate, the nobles and clergy are in conſtant dread, leaſt both the people

people and ſoldiers diſcover the impoſition, and, in retaliation, puniſh their oppreſſors. Under this impreſſion, a few lawyers are called to their aſſiſtance, to draw up regulations, for their conduct in life; and they, finding it their intereſt to join the privileged orders, finiſh the cataſtrophe by confounding right and wrong, and the people ſink under the ſlow decay of deſpotiſm.

It is related in the hiſtory of America, that when a herd of cattle or flock of ſheep are apprehenſive of danger, they place one or more centinels, at certain diſtances, who, upon the approach of an enemy, give the ſignal and join their corps. Should they neglect their duty, or give a falſe alarm, they are ſeverely puniſhed. After performing their watch, which is a limited time, others are appointed to ſucceed them; and ſo on in rotation, till it goes the whole round. I have often witneſſed ſimilar regulations, the puniſhment alone excepted, amongſt the ſolan geeſe, in the north of Scotland. Such conduct naturally excites our admiration. — But ſhould we not be ſurpriſed, if we ſaw the many picking the choiceſt herbs, and conferring them upon a few lazy individuals, who lay ſtill and did nothing? And would not our ſurpriſe be changed into reſentment, f they, inſtead of being grateful to their benefactors, were continually encou-

raging

raging them to murder and deſtroy one another? Which ought moſt to be blamed, the ſtupidity of the herd, or the ingratitude and cruelty of the drones?—This melancholy picture may be ſeen realized every day; and the judicious reader will not fail to perceive its application.

It is melancholy to ſee the privileged orders, ſquandering thouſands at the gaming table, wrung from the labour of the poor, whilſt they have ſcarce a cruſt of mouldy bread, to ſatisfy the cravings of nature; and yet inſult is added to misfortune, and they are treated more contemptuouſly than their dogs and horſes. If a tradeſman has any thing to tranſact with the faſhionable great, he is obliged to ſtand in waiting for hours; and then an inſolent footman, with a ſurly tone of voice, deſires him to return next day, becauſe my lord or lady was not diſpoſed to ſee him. What muſt he feel, upon recollecting, that of every twenty ſtrokes, he makes with his hammer, eighteen of them go to pay his taxes; and the produce of the remaining two muſt come, through the hands of his oppreſſors, accompanied with haughtineſs and diſdain? Well might the poet exclaim: "Are there no ſtones in heaven, but ſuch as ſerve for thunder!"

In the preſent ſtate of ſociety, it is the height of folly to think ſuch a ſyſtem can be of long

duration:

duration: and it is as much the intereſt of the rich, as the poor, to prevent an approaching cataſtrophe, by uniting together, and making ſuch amendments, as may prove conducive to the ſafety and happineſs of the whole. If the ariſtocracy continue to lend a deaf ear to the voice of reaſon, and the cries of humanity, their fate is inevitable, and they will fall without pity. The people have been too long unacquainted with the cauſe of their misfortunes. Like a dog, who bites the rod, with which he is ſcourged, they have generally wrecked their reſentment, upon the inſtruments, rather than the principals:—ſeldom extending their inquiries, beyond the petty monopoly of a butcher or baker; but the deluſion is paſt. Let us now return to the life of Fletcher.

CHAP. IV.

Fletcher's return to Scotland—his oppoſition to the court—his perſecution and emigration—death of Baillie, Sidney, Monmouth, &c.

DURING his travels abroad, Fletcher employed his time in converſing with the people of every ſtation in life, and making obſervations on

the cuſtoms and manners of the countries through which he paſſed. Unlike our modern fine gentlemen, who hurry from court to court, and are acquainted with nothing, except the vitiated manners of gamblers and courtezans, he aſſociated with the learned, the unfortunate, and the brave. He inquired into the cauſes of the riſe and fall of empires; and, fired with a love of glory, returned to his native country, reſolved to uſe every exertion, in reſcuing it from the tyranny of the Stewarts.

A ſpirit of reſiſtance to arbitrary power, which neither perſecution, nor ſecret influence has been able to extinguiſh, had made great progreſs in the weſt of Scotland, during the abſcence of Fletcher, and drawn upon the inhabitants the reſentment of the court. Their zeal was ſtill a compound of liberty and religious bigotry, yet it was likely to terminate in the emancipation of their country. Although Fletcher, like moſt great men, did not attach himſelf to any religious ſect, he became the ſtrenuous advocate of the oppreſſed covenanters; and being choſen a commiſſioner of parliament for eaſt Lothian, ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf for the elegance of his diction, and the cloſeneſs of his reaſoning. The frothy orators of the preſent day, ſpeak for three or four hours together, and when they conclude, it is ſometimes

times difficult to tell which ſide they have been ſupporting, or what they have been declaiming about. Fletcher's ſpeeches were ſhort and nervous; his language forcible and diſtinct.

The deſign of the cabinet, during the reign of Charles II. was to reſtore epiſcopacy and arbitrary power. The Scots had ſuffered ſo much oppreſſion, under their former biſhops, that nothing was capable of irritating them to ſo great a degree, as the reſtoration of epiſcopacy, which they conſidered, as the baſtard offspring of the church of Rome; and they oppoſed it with every argument, which ingenuity would deviſe. The determination of the court was fixed, and remonſtrances were of no avail. Accordingly the biſhops were re-inſtated in their former livings, but inſtead of going to hear them, the people took an oath, called the ſolemn league and covenant, not unlike the oath of the united iriſhmen, by which they bound themſelves to ſupport one another, and perſevere till they obtained a redreſs of grievances.* A wiſe government

* It is worth remarking, that the Scots, in the neighbourhood of Glaſgow, were the firſt people, who took a ſecret oath to counteract the encroachments of deſpotiſm; and ſo laſting has been the impreſſion, that their deſcendants in Ireland and America have copied their example. This

mode

would have generously yielded to the almoſt unanimous wiſhes of a numerous people; but prudence was never the characteriſtic of the Stewarts.

The duke of Lauderdale was then miniſter of Scotland, and from an enthuſiaſtic bigot, as is common, became a moſt violent perſecutor of his former aſſociates. The courſe of juſtice was every where ſuſpended, and a military banditti governed without controul. Houſes and even whole villages were reduced to aſhes; and fathers, mothers, and children conſigned to the devouring flames. It was the wiſh of the court to drive the covenanters to reſiſtance, before they were properly organized, that they might have a plauſible pretext, for eſtabliſhing a mercenary army; and the duke of Lauderdale, in his drunken fits, uſed to ſay, "he wiſhed the preſbyterians in Scotland would rebel, that he might bring over the Iriſh to cut their throats."

At length the court obtained the accompliſhment of its deſigns, the covenanters, goaded by oppreſſion and ſtimulated by deſpair, flew to arms, and drew up a manifeſto againſt the government. They ſoon after attacked a ſmall detachment

mode of oppoſing tyranny, after making the tour of America and Europe, ſeems to be revived, with increaſed enthuſiaſm, in the very country which gave it birth.

of

of the kings' ſoldiers, and proved victorious; but having no digeſted plan of operation, nor leaders capable of improving their advantages, inſtead of marching to the capital, and truſting every thing to the fate of a battle, they trifled away their time, in the weſt of Scotland, and gave the court leiſure to recover from its fright and collect its forces. The duke of Monmouth, a natural ſon of the king, a young man of popular manners and obliging diſpoſition was ſent to ſubdue them. An engagement took place near Bothwell-bridge, in which between two and three hundred of the covenanters were killed, and above twelve hundred taken priſoners. Monmouth did not puſh his victory agreeable to the wiſhes of the court; he was of a humane temper and averſe to the ſhedding of blood. Upon his return to London the king received him coldly, obſerving "if he had been there, they ſhould not have had the trouble of priſoners!*

The covenanters became diſpirited after their defeat, yet they were by no means reconciled to the meaſures of the court, which exerciſed the moſt ſavage barbarity upon the defenceleſs priſoners, and put hundreds to death, with ſlow and deliberate torture. As the duke of York, after-

* Burnet.

wards James II. was lord commiſſioner in Scotland, he encouraged Lauderdale to perſevere, in his ſanguinary plans; and every ſpecies of cruelty continued to be inflicted upon the unfortunate inhabitants. Fletcher joined the earl of Argyll in oppoſing adminiſtration, and "maintained the cauſe of his deſerted country with the force of ancient eloquence, and the dignity of ancient virtue." His perſevering fortitude, in ſome degree, checked the career of deſpotiſm, and revived the drooping ſpirit of his countrymen. His exertions, during the debates on the teſt act, were crowned with ſucceſs, and the duke of York himſelf confeſſed, that it was owing to Fletcher that he loſt Scotland. This conduct drew upon him the reſentment of the court, and it was reſolved to add him to the numberleſs victims of royal vengeance. Convinced that innocence is no protection againſt lawleſs power, he retired to England, to conſult his friend and perceptor Dr. Burnet. The ſtorm continuing to encreaſe, he found it adviſable to go to Holland, the common reſort of the diſaffected of both countries. The privy council, at the inſtigation of the duke of York, ſummoned him to appear before them at Edinburgh; but not thinking it prudent to comply, he was outlawed, upon frivolous pretences, and his eſtates confiſcated for the benefit of the king.

The

The ſame ſpecies of tyranny, which was deſolating Scotland, had extended its baneful influence to England, and the people groaned under the moſt cruel deſpotiſm, when the exiled patriots, in Holland, at the head of whom was the earl of Argyll, were contriving means to emancipate their country. The engliſh nation was much diſaffected, and a council was formed in the year 1683, compoſed of Monmouth, Sidney Ruſſel, Eſſex, Hamden and Howard, to co-operate with them in their patriotic deſigns.

The refugees, like all numerous bodies of men, were actuated by different motives: ſome of them were only anxious to get into places of emolument, others were influenced, by religious notions, whilſt a third party breathed the pureſt patriotiſm, and would chearfully have encountered the greateſt dangers, in defence of the liberties of their country. Amongſt the laſt claſs, Fletcher and Baillie of Jervoiswood occupied the foremoſt rank; and they were the only two, intruſted by Argyll, with the ſecret intentions of both parties. They therefore came to England to concert meaſures for their mutual ſafety. The fate of the council of ſix is well known; and indeed it would be foreign to our plan to go farther into details.—Betrayed by the cowardly Howard, ſome of them ſealed their

principles

principles with their blood, and died as they had lived, the pride of their country and the ornament of the age.

Baillie was arreſted and ſent down to Edinburgh in irons, where he was forced to languiſh in a ſolitary dungeon, and ſubjected to all thoſe little indignities, which the agents of deſpotiſm are ſo well qualified to practice. Fletcher acted with ſo much ſecrecy and addreſs, during his miſſion, that the miniſtry were not able to bring any direct charge againſt him. Baillie was found guilty, after the farce of a trial, and doomed to ſuffer death. When cruel treatment had worn out his conſtitution, he was offered a free pardon, upon condition of impeaching Fletcher, whom they wiſhed to puniſh, for his oppoſition to the duke of York; but he ſpurned their propoſals with ſtoic firmneſs. As he was about to mount the fatal ladder, the ſame offer was repeated, and the names of his wife and children, his relations and friends were brought to his remembrance. Looking on his enemies with a ſtern countenance, he replied, " there were certain terms, on which a good man would not chooſe to live," and was inſtantly launched into eternity.—Baillie merited a better fate; and, inſtead of a halter, ought to have been crowned with civic honours. Tyrants and prieſts have ſtatues erected to their memory

memory, and yet the friends of ſuffering humanity hardly know where to ſhed a ſympathetic tear over his grave.—But let not the virtuous deſpair; perhaps when the names of tyrants are only remembered for their crimes, the buſt of Baillie may occupy a principal place, in the pantheon of his country.

After the ruin of the council of ſix, Fletcher returned to the continent, and dedicated his time to ſtudy and travel. The earl of Buchan, who has written eſſays on his life, and is in poſſeſſion of the family manuſcripts, ſays, he has fruitleſsly endeavoured to trace him, in his various ſituations, during this period. We find him, however, at the Hague, in the beginning of the year 1685, aſſiſting at the deliberations of the exiles, who were meditating a deſcent on Great Britain. James II. who had ſucceeded Charles, was the moſt cruel of all the Stewarts; and was ſuppoſed to have been the chief adviſer of his brother, whom he had ſecretly ordered to be poiſoned, for not complying with his arbitrary deſigns.* As he had thrown off all reſtraint, and boaſted of making his own will the ſupreme law, the people became weary of oppreſſion, and turned their thoughts towards Holland.

* Burnet.

The prince of Orange, who had married the daughter of king James, lookod upon the britiſh crown, as his natural right; and the duke of Monmouth, who had been declared illegitimate a little before the death of his father, was not without expectations, that the people would paſs over the doubtfulneſs of his claim; whilſt a few reflective men, ſuperior to the prejudices of the age, in which they lived, hoped to be able to eſtabliſh a rspreſentative government. The queſtion amongſt the people was, who ſhould be king? It ought not to be forgotten, that England, for many centuries, had been governed by foreigners or their deſcendants: and ſuch were the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the times, that two ſucceſſive reigns of perſecution and blood had not been ſufficient to diſguſt them with royalty. They attributed their grievances to the miſconduct of individuals, not to the unlimited power with which they were inveſted; and had they not found a king in Europe, it is extremely probable, they would have ſent to Conſtantinople or Algiers for one.

Of all the oppoſers of king James none acted with ſo much duplicity, as the intriguing prince of Orange. He had carefully ſtudied human nature, and was well acquainted with the genius of the britiſh nation. Cool and diſpaſſionate, he artfully ſoothed every party, and balanced them ſo exactly

exactly, that they all depended upon himſelf. What he principally aimed at was, to get rid of ſuch of the refugees, as ſtood in the way of his ambition; and with theſe views he encouraged the expeditions of Argyll and Monmouth, whilſt he gave private information of their intentions to his father-in-law. He wiſhed neither party ſucceſs; but hoped their attempts would involve the country in a civil war, when he expected to be ſent for as umpire. It is curious and intereſting to obſerve, how men, having different intereſts, may engage in the ſame cauſe, with apparent ſincerity. Whatever might be the iſſue of the invaſion, the prince of Orange thought the attention of king James would be ſufficiently occupied to enable him to proſecute his deſigns: even the king himſelf did not diſlike the expedition, as from the various accounts received, he was confident of cruſhing it without endangering the throne.—The real patriots, from the promiſes of the prince, and the negligence of the king, believed all was in their favour.

Fletcher attached himſelf at firſt to Argyll; but having other objects at heart than the principal leaders, he was diſsatisfied with their plan of operations, and joined the duke of Monmouth. Argyll and his friends had a pleaſant voyage, and landed in the weſt of Scotland; where his little army,

after

after a feeble reſiſtance, was diſperſed, and he himſelf taken priſoner, and put to death. His life had been long chequered with misfortune. In the year 1682, he was charged with high treaſon, and ſentenced to ſuffer death, for refuſing to ſwear that reſiſtance to oppreſſion was unlawful in all caſes, but by means of his friends, he eſcaped from priſon, and fled to Holland, where his rank and ſufferings gave him much influence.

Monmouth accompanied by Lord Grey and Fletcher, with about 80 gentlemen in arms, ſoon after ſat ſail for England, and landed near Lime in Doſetſhire, where Monmouth was very popular. The Prince of Orange had managed matters ſo artfully that moſt of the principal refugees remained at the Hague, waiting the reſult of the invaſion. Lord Grey, who was, upon their landing, appointed commander of the cavalry, and ſent out on a foraging party, happened to fall in with ſome of the militia, when he cowardly gave way, leaving his followers to ſhift for themſelves.

His men, however, proved victorious, and returned in good order; but the puſillanimous conduct of their leader, greatly embarraſſed Monmouth, and diſconcerted his plans. Another accident contributed to accelerate his ruin.

Fletcher, being on a reconnoitring party, and thinking private property of a ſecondary conſideration

ſideration, amongſt men, whoſe fate depended on their unanimity and courage, impreſſed a horſe, belonging to the mayor of Lime. The mayor loaded him, with the moſt opprobrious epithets, and threatened to cane him; upon which Fletcher, in an unguarded moment, pulled out a piſtol, and ſhot him on the ſpot. This raſh intemperate action was attended with ſerious conſequences. The mayor was beloved by the people, on whoſe exertions their ſucceſs depended, and they inſiſted on revenge. It was intended to have given Fletcher the joint command of the cavalry with lord Grey; but this unfortunate affair rendered his future ſervices of little avail, and deprived Monmouth of an officer, on whoſe courage and fidelity he might have relied, if he had not deviated from his original agreement. Yet it did not induce Fletcher to abandon his companions, as inſinuated, by thoſe, who have an intereſt in defaming his memory.

Monmouth had circulated manifeſtoes in England and Scotland, in which he diſclaimed having any pretentions to the throne, unleſs choſen, by the unanimous conſent of the nation. He likewiſe promiſed to call a convention of delegates, elected by the people at large, to form a conſtitution agreeable to the genuine principles of liberty. Theſe were the motives that had induced

Fletcher to embark in the enterprize, and he was determined to abide by them. The weakneſs of Monmouth's title to the crown, the divided ſtate of the nation and the juſtice of the cauſe, added to the diſlike of king James, were the grounds, on which he founded his hopes of ſucceſs; but Monmouth's little ſoul was ſo puffed up with the compliments of the country people, and ſome trifling advantages, obtained over the militia, that he forgot his engagements, and ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed king at Taunton.

Fired with indignation, Fletcher remonſtrated againſt theſe proceedings, which, he conſidered as treachery on the part of Monmouth, and treaſon, againſt the liberties of the people. He had been compelled to leave his native country, where his eſtates were conſiderable, on account of his oppoſition to arbitrary power; and where, if he had choſen to comply with the meaſures of the court, he might have enjoyed the ſmiles of majeſty. It was no perſonal enmity to the houſe of Stewart that prevailed upon him, to take up arms; but a thorough conviction that hereditary power was inconſiſtent with liberty: nor could it be ſuppoſed; that he would have co-operated with Monmouth in his infamous deſigns, who had conſtantly maintained, that the liberties of a country would never be firmly eſtabliſhed, till a guilty monarch

monarch could be brought to the block, with as little ceremony as a common felon. His object was a change of ſyſtem, not a change of maſters: and when his intreaties and remonſtrances proved ineffectual, he conceived it no longer a national queſtion, and went on board a ſhip, bound for Spain, leaving Monmouth and his royal aſſociates to the fortune of war.

Monmouth with his adherents, who had increaſed to five or ſix thouſand men, after a variety of ſkirmiſhes, fought with different ſucceſs, were defeated; aud he and lord Grey taken priſoners. Grey being very rich, found means to procure a pardon; but no interceſſion would ſave Monmouth, whom the king conſidered, as a dangerous rival. After his defeat he was found diſguiſed in a ſhepherds dreſs, and ſhewed fear and ſubmiſſion proportioned to his vanity and arrogance at Taunton. When brought to London he tried every art to excite compaſſion in the breaſt of the king, making the moſt humble ſupplications for his life; but when he found his death was reſolved upon, he aſſumed a courage worthy of a more conſiſtent character, and met his fate with aſtoniſhing indifference. This unfortunate, and ill-conducted inſurrection afforded the court an opportunity of glutting its revenge; and the peaſantry were executed by dozens at a time. His Majeſty's favou-

rites prepared a ſumptuous entertainment, with muſic, on the occaſion, and at every new health another execution was ordered. As they mounted the ſcaffold they were inſulted in the moſt indecent manner, and the ſhaking of their legs compared, in deriſion, to dancing. Upon the news of theſe diſgraceful maſſacres being brought to the king, he appeared more than uſually chearful, and repeated to each of his courtiers, as they approached him, the account of "Jefferies campaign."

CHAP. V.

Fletcher's misfortunes—his magnanimity, compariſon between the tyranny of James II. and the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt. Invaſion.

FLETCHER had no ſooner landed in Spain than he was ſeized and confined a cloſe priſoner, at the requeſt of the engliſh ambaſſador, who was preparing a ſhip to convey him to London, where he certainly would have met with the fate of Monmouth. He bore the horrors of a goal with great compoſure; and as his mind was fortified with philoſophy, and equally prepared to glide gently

gently down the vale of life, or encounter the mountain-ſtorm, he heard his doom without uttering ſo much as a ſingle complaint, or heaving a broken ſigh. Looking penſively through the iron bars of his dungeon one morning, and contemplating in ſorrow the misfortunes of his country, he obſerved a venerable perſon beckoning at a diſtance, and making ſigns to ſpeak with him. Upon examining the place, he diſcovered a door open, where he met this guide, who conducted him, through three guards of ſoldiers, apparently faſt aſleep; and without being permitted to thank his deliverer, about whom he never could obtain the leaſt information, he was deſired to take care of himſelf.

Diſguiſed with all poſſible care, he travelled through different provinces of Spain, amuſing himſelf with the natural beauties of the country, and ſpending much of his time, in the libraries of the religious orders. Another circumſtance ſoon after occurred, equally ſtrange with his eſcape from priſon. As he approached a wood through which two roads led to a town, where he intended to have ſlept, he was accoſted, by a decent matron, who requeſted him to take the left hand road, as the other might happen to prove fatal to him. He yielded to her advice; and, upon his arrival, at the place of his deſtination, found the

towns-people alarmed with the news of a robbery and murder, committed on the road, which he had been desired to ſhun.

In his peregrinations through Spain, without money or friends, he had many difficulties to encounter, and very narrowly eſcaped the ſearch of his purſuers. It is judiciouſly obſerved, by the author of Gil Blas, that a man, without money, reſembles a bird with its wings cut, for however wiſely he may contrive, he cannot execute, and he, who is ſo ſituated muſt be guided by circumſtances. Superſtitious monks, with large croſſes hanging at their necks, and girdles round their loins, counting their beads and doing pennance at the ſhrines of gold and ſilver images, whilſt the people are ſunk in the moſt abject ſlavery, bring no pleaſant reflections to a liberal philoſophic mind, and yet on the bounty of ſuch grovelling wretches, was Fletcher obliged to depend, for a temporary ſubſiſtence.—Having obtained credit upon Amſterdam, he went to Hungary, and ſerved for ſome time, in a military capacity, under the duke of Lorrain, with great reputation. But as the affairs of Britain, on the ſucceſs of which the liberties of Europe depended, were drawing to a criſis, he quitted the ſervice and chearfully reſolved to ſhare the danger and glory of emancipating his country.

Upon

Upon joining the refugees, he found the ſame party ſpirit ſtill diſtracting their councils. Few underſtood the genuine principles of liberty; and the only thing, in which they agreed, was an averſion to popery, and a reſentment to king James. Moſt of them employed their time, in quarreling about the diviſion of the ſpoil; for they anticipated a revolution, and diſpoſed of Britain, as if the inhabitants had been inanimate beings. Fletcher, violently attached to republicaniſm, was too obſtinate to make the leaſt conceſſions, and denied the right of a party in Holland, to fix the deſtiny of millions: on which account, he did not enjoy that confidence, amongſt them, to which his abilities and patriotiſm gave him ſo juſt a claim.

About this time, William Penn, the celebrated quaker, was confidentially employed, by king James, at the Hague, where he became acquainted with the principal leaders of the refugees; and finding moſt of them had emigrated, on account of religious perſecution, he adviſed his maſter to paſs an act of indemnity, and permit them to return home. As they were chiefly influenced, by a ſtrong zeal for preſbytery, without any ſerious deſigns againſt the civil government, his majeſty readily complied, hoping to allay the growing diſcontent; which threatened

a general insurrection. The refugees gladly embraced the offer, and had their estates restored to them. Fletcher alone disdained to profit by the royal clemency, and continued to reside upon the continent, corresponding with, and encouraging his countrymen to persevere in the cause of reform.

His conduct, in this instance, was much censured by his best friends; yet he preferred poverty and reproach, where he could enjoy the blessings of liberty, to wealth and ease, under a despotic government. The sight of his country in chains, was what his generous soul could not endure; nor could he condescend to accept, as a favour, what he was entitled to, as a right. Actuated by the unerring principles of immutable justice, he could not have shewn any indulgence to the destroyer of his country's freedom, and he was too independent to accept what he would not have given. If the king had a right to restore estates, he had a right to take them away. His will became the law; and to have accepted a pardon, would have been to acknowledge his authority. Several countries have lately afforded examples of undaunted courage and real patriotism; perhaps Great Britain has not produced an instance of such inflexible integrity, since the death of Fletcher.

It is generally believed revolutions move from north

north to ſouth; but this belief, is as void of foundation, as that of the movement of the ſun and ſtars round the earth. In the north, more labour is required to procure the neceſſaries of life, than in the ſouth; and the effects of partial laws are ſooner felt. Neceſſity, therefore, compels them to break their chains, upon the heads of their oppreſſors, or abandon their country and endeavour to force from others, what has been unjuſtly witheld from them at home. No ſociety can be of long duration, unleſs all its members have an equal intereſt, in its preſervation; and if a ſingle individual be excluded, from ſharing in the government, it muſt proceed from a democracy to an ariſtocracy, from an ariſtocracy to a mixed monarchy, and from a mixed monarchy to to a deſpotiſm: when after many violent commotions, as in imperial Rome, the people, in a blind fury, ſeize the property, as well as the power, and for want of underſtanding how to fix the balance, go through the various ſtages as before.

If a revolution happen, before a complete deſpotiſm takes place, as in America, it is owing to local ſituation, or ſome very great errors in the chief magiſtrate: for the people are ſlow to action, and like the countryman, who could not find in his heart, to adore the new image, made of his own plumb-tree, though he had devoutly worſhipped the old one, left him by

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his fathers, they obey eſtabliſhed governments, merely becauſe they are unacquainted with their origin.—And when a combination of cauſes produces a deſpotiſm, nothing can prevent a revolution. Neither a James nor a George can alter the courſe of nature; and were the people to recal Socrates from the grave, and give him Ceſar and Buonaparte for generals, the ſame events muſt take place. The only poſſible difference is this; a wiſe man, foreſeeing the ſtorm, would meet it, and accommodate matters—a fool would obſtinately perſiſt in his folly, and provoke a civil war.

The ſtriking reſemblance between the reign of James II. and the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, affords a melancholy proſpect to a contemplative mind. James ſometimes extorted money from the people without conſent of parliament; ſometimes he bribed or intimidated them into compliance. Mr. Pitt plays a more artful game—he has granted places and penſions to a majority of his parliament, and taken them under his own ſpecial protection; for which, in return, they have chearfully voted him tax after tax, and are now threatening to place the whole property of the nation at his diſpoſal. James carried on a war againſt liberty, and perſecuted its friends with ſavage fury: he put ſome to death, and baniſhed or

immured others, in unwholesome dungeons. Mr. Pitt has likewise carried on a war against liberty: he has shed the blood of patriots;—the shores of new Holland and his numerous bastiles bear witness of his cruelty. Above 60,000 covenanters were put to death in Scotland from the restoration to the revolution. Mr. Pitt's military agents have proved still more fatal to the united Irishmen. James treated the petitions of the people with contempt, and punished them for daring to complain. He governed by prerogative; and boasting of being the representative of god, pretended a divine right to act as he pleased. Mr. Pitt has likewise dared to act contrary to the petitions of the people, which he has treated with contempt, and made laws preventing them from expressing their grievances. More artful than James, he affects to act for the good of the people, at the very moment he is wasting their blood and treasure; and as there is most danger in catching cold, in warm weather, because people are off their guard, so his government, by secret influence, is more dangerous than James's, who never concealed his despotic views.

In James's reign, the people were borne down with poverty and oppression, whilst the courtiers were boasting of the flourishing state of the nation, and squandering thousands in luxury aud debauch,

bauch. During Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, thouſands are dying for want of the common neceſſaries of life; and yet his courtiers are extolling the goodneſs of the times, and adding inſult to misfortune, by their extravagant profuſion. James thought himſelf ſecure, becauſe ſupported by a venal parliament, and flattered by corporations, offering their lives and fortunes; but in the hour of trial, they deſerted their maſter, and concealed themſelves in their garrats and cellars. Mr. Pitt, has a compliant parliament, and the corporations have not been wanting in promiſes: an opportunity may perhaps be ſoon furniſhed them of proving their generoſity and courage. The tyranny of James begat diſaffection in the people, and increaſed the number of covenanters. The tyranny of Mr. Pitt has increaſed the number of democrats. And as the corruption of one body is the generation of another, the cruelty and folly of James paved the way for the revolution, and provoked an invaſion.—May the deſtruction of Mr. Pitt's ſyſtem be productive of ſtill more beneficial conſequences.

The period was faſt approaching when the family of the Stewarts was to be hurled from the britiſh throne: and, in organizing the invaſion, Fletcher proved inferior to none in zeal, penetra-

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tion, activity, and political ſkill* He came over with the prince of Orange, and was very uſeful in prevailing upon ſuch of his countrymen, as were ſtill attached to king James, to co-operate in the common-cauſe.

The prince, after his landing, appeared ſullen and moroſe, and threatened to return to Holland, leaving the revolutioniſts to the mercy of king James, unleſs he was inveſted with ſovereign power. Fear, and the hopes of reward, operated upon the greater number. Fletcher, and a few others, exerted every nerve to prevent the deſigns of the prince, till the ſenſe of the nation could be fairly collected; but they ſtruggled in vain, and had the mortification of ſeeing a weak ſuperſtitious Scot ſucceeded, by a cruel intriguing Dutchman, who excelled his predeceſſor in nothing, except duplicity and the art of impoſing taxes. Happy had it been for the people, had they only remained ſpectators of this conteſt; unfortunately they were the prize.

When the ariſtocracy of Great Britain aſſumed the power of irrevocably ſettling the government, after the revolution of 1688, why did not they limit its expences? It then would have juſtly

* Ency. Brit.

merited the epithets of great and glorious. To ſhew, however, that they do not heſitate to make alterations, when it ſuits their purpoſe, we have only to recollect, that parliaments, for ſome time after the revolution, were elected every three years; now they continue ſeven. We have ſeen them violate their boaſted magna charta and their bill of rights; and perhaps the next act may declare both parliament and clergy hereditary; for the ſame power that gave them a right to do the one, certainly authorizes them to do the other. Every thing valuable to ſociety, or capable of warming the patriots heart is ſaid to belong to the king, nothing to our country; ſuch as the king's army and navy, the king's highway; but how happens it that we never hear of the king's debts? Do they alone belong to the people? And have they no other hereditary right, than the right of paying taxes?

It is an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, in moſt civilized nations, that the children are not obliged to pay their parents debts, unleſs they meddle with their effects; and, in this ſimple, natural view, let us conſider the national debt. Owing to monopolies and partial laws, it is a lamentable truth, that nineteen, out of every twenty of the people, have no hereditary poſſeſſions. Is it juſt or reaſonable

ſonable then that they ſhould be burdened with their father debts? It is hard to have derived nothing from the authors of their being, except the hiſtory of their wrongs. It would be cruel to compel them to pay debts, which they had not even a voice in contracting. The preſent generation has no more right to entail debts on poſterity, unleſs they leave effects equal in value to the debts entailed, than a ſhopkeeper has to embezzle the goods of his employer.

From king William's papers it appears, that whilſt moſt of the leaders of the revolution ſtrove to aggrandize themſelvs, Fletcher aſked nothing for himſelf. And although his eſtate had been confiſcated, and his houſe plundered, by a military banditti; yet "he was only diſtinguiſhed for marks of royal and miniſterial diſlike."

In the convention parliament, which met, after the revolution, he acted a manly dignified part. He ſtrenuouſly defended the liberty of the people, and would neither ſuffer himſelf to be claſſed with whigs nor tories, ſaying, "thoſe names were uſed to cloak the knaves of both parties."* When a

* About the year 1643, in the reign of Ch. I. the people in the weſt of Scotland were greatly averſe to the meaſures of the court, particularly to popery, which, in that country

a counter-revolution was likely to break out in the year 1692, however much he was diſpleaſed with the hypocriſy of king William, and the treachery of his miniſters, yet he forgot his own private wrongs, and ſtudied nothing but the

to this day, is coupled in idea with arbitrary power. And as they came yearly to Leith, in great numbers, to buy corn, they were called whiggamms, by way of contempt, from a term uſed in driving their horſes, which term was afterwards contracted into whigs. In the courſe of time, all thoſe, who oppoſed the court, were denominated whigs, and the miniſtry with their ſupporters, were called tories. Neither of the names, like the word jacobin, has any determinate meaning; and thoſe, who have no intereſt in deceiving the multitude will carefully avoid ſuch ambiguous expreſſions.

Although party names ought to be diſcouraged, becauſe, when not accurately defined, they have a tendency to perpetuate diſunion; yet the modern diſtinctions of ariſtocrats and democrats are not liable to the ſame objection. An ariſtocrat is a perſon, who wiſhes the power of making laws and conſequently all wealth and authority to be veſted in the hands of a few. A democrat wiſhes all laws to originate from the people. The ariſtocrat is already ſeparated from the multitude, and wiſhes to continue a diſtinct claſs. The democrat does not wiſh to deprive the ariſtocrat of any of his rights; his ſole object is to regain that importance in ſociety, of which unjuſt laws have deprived him; nor can he, without becoming an ariſtocrat himſelf, deprive another of his natural rights.

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welfare of his country. He wrote a letter to the duke of Hamilton, preſerved in Sir John Dalrymple's memoirs, in which, he uſed every argument to diſſuade his grace, from ſupporting the pretenſions of king James, and it produced the deſired effect; although the duke and ſeveral others were deeply involved in the conſpiracy. The Scots chiefs were then ſo highly irritated, with the proceedings of the engliſh court, that many of them, out of revenge, would have gladly thrown themſelves upon king James; but Fletcher knew that no dependence could be placed upon the manifeſtoes of an exaſperated bigot, ſupported, by the moſt deſpotic tyrant in Europe; he therefore oppoſed a coalition, fully convinced that they were not ſwords with ſcabbards that would decide a civil war.

CHAP

CHAP. VI.

Thoughts on commerce—Paterſon's ſcheme of ſettling a colony at Darien—Fletcher patroniſed him—conſpiracy of the eaſt India company againſt the Scots—treachery of king William—a famine in Scotland—inhumanity of the engliſh government—anecdotes of Fletcher—act of ſecurity.

BEFORE the late diſcoveries in printing and navigation, knowledge was extremely limited, and general information fell only to the lot of a few; but ſince the obſtacles to ſcience have been removed, the human mind has expanded itſelf, and the enlightened man looks upon the whole creation, as links of the ſame chain. Natural enemies, and ſimilar contracted notions, which had their origin in courts and cloiſters, are diſappearing, before the empire of reaſon; and the period is not very diſtant when the whole family of man will exchange the ſuperfluities of their induſtry with one another, upon terms of mutual advantage without the dread of pirates, or prohibitary laws.

Without commerce our apples would degenerate into crabs and our wheat into rye. Our know-

knowledge would be local—our ideas nàrrow and confined. And yet commerce, the ſource of ſo much enjoyment, like many other bleſſings, has been frequently turned to the injury of ſociety: by being placed, in the hands of a few privileged companies, it has furniſhed them with weapons for oppreſſing their fellow citizens. This has induced many ſuperficial obſervers to exclaim againſt commerce in general, without perceiving, that, it is only monopoly which is dangerous to liberty. They might, with the ſame plauſibility, condemn agriculture, or any uſeful manufacture. Fletcher reaſoned more accurately. He ſaw, that the communication of thought was conducive to public and private happineſs; and that without commerce, there never could be an extenſive circulation of opinion.

To form an accompliſhed man much culture is neceſſary, yet nature, as if it were to ſport with our inſtitutions, ſometimes produces extraordinary characters, and to this phenomenon may be aſcribed Paterſon, a man of little education, who had ſpent his youth amongſt the Buccaniers, and been accuſtomed to a roving line of life. With a mind ſuperior to his ſituation, and weary of committing depredations on the ſeas, he formed the daring project of opening a com-

communication between the eaſt and weſt Indies, by the iſthmus of Darien, which divides north from ſouth America. As there was a ſublimity in all Fletcher's ideas, Paterſon naturally communicated his ſcheme to him, and he entered into it with enthuſiaſm; for there was no medium in his character, no heſitating between right and wrong. Fletcher therefore became his patron, and introduced him to the Marquis of Tweedale, then miniſter for Scotland, as alſo to the two Secretaries of State, lord Stair and Mr. Johnſton, with whom he had been intimately acquainted upon the continent: and to them he demonſtrated the advantages of Darien, a ſituation the beſt calculated for commerce in the whole world, which could not fail of becoming inſtrumental, in connecting and civilizing the people of both hemiſpheres. The miniſtry, in conſequence of the reaſonableneſs of the plan, and the preſſing arguments of Fletcher adopted it; and in a ſhort time about £.500,000 were ſubſcribed for carrying the project into execution; an immenſe ſum in thoſe days, and above one half of the money then in circulation in Scotland.

To ſeize the territory of a harmleſs people, is a direct robbery; and however ſuch tranſactions may be gloſſed over by decrees of councils, or acts of parliament, they are not the leſs immoral.

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And the only reaſon why the invaders are not brought to public juſtice, is becauſe the injured have not the power. But to cultivate the earth, and multiply human beings, is to ſerve the end of our creation. The one ſpecies of colonization deſerves execration, the other is highly commendable. Other nations have grown rich and powerful, by means of colonies, which are governed by partial laws.—Fletcher, whoſe ſole object was the good of mankind, propoſed making Darien a free port, with one over againſt it, in the ſouth ſeas; thus connecting the eaſt and weſt Indies, and benefiting the world at large.

The dutch and engliſh monopoliſts immediately became jealous of the Scots. They knew an aſſociation of freemen, acting upon liberal principles, would prove dangerous rivals; and they determined to fruſtrate the undertaking. In the mean time the Scots fleet ſat ſail, and made good their landing at Darien, having on board the flower of their youth, and effects of great value.

Danger ſeldom deters a great mind, it is rather a ſtimulus to action. We love to dwell on thoſe paſſages of our lives, where we had many difficulties to encounter; and feel little pleaſure in relating circumſtances, where there has been no occaſion for exertion. Fletcher, wiſhing that

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his countrymen alone ſhould have the glory of this undertaking, or perhaps fearing leaſt more powerful rivals ſhould monopolize all the benefits to themſelves, prevented either the Dutch or Engliſh from having any ſhare. And the very means he took to inſure ſucceſs accelerated its ruin. For, in conſequence of large bribes, and ſtill larger promiſes, the eaſt India companies prevailed upon king William, to undermine and deſtroy a ſettlement, which he had not the honeſty or courage to oppoſe.

The new coloniſts depended for proviſions on the North Americans, and king William gave ſecret orders, prohibiting all commerce or ſupplies. Betrayed by thoſe who had promiſed them protection, and expoſed to the numberleſs hardſhips, to which all new ſettlers are liable, particularly under the torrid zone, they looked back with regret, on their heath-covered mountains, and waited, in anxious silence, for the long expected ſuccours. But no ſuccours arrived.—At length want and diſappointment had conſumed the greater number, and the reſt were ſinking under accumulated miſeries when the Spaniards, at the inſtigation of the engliſh court, attacked them and effected their ruin.

Thus the colony of Darien, the only one, in thoſe times, formed upon rational principles, was de-

deſtroyed, by means of ſecret influence, and with it fell the hopes of the commerce of Scotland. It is generally allowed that Alexander has acquired more glory and given greater proofs of genius, by attempting to unite the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, than by his numerous victories.—In what eſtimation then ought we to hold a few private individuals, who attempted to unite the old and new world, upon terms of mutual advantage? When the deſcendants of thoſe unfortunate Scots meet annually, to celebrate the glorious and immortal memory of king William, they ought not to forget the treachery of Darien and the maſſacre of Glencoe.

The failure at Darien, added to a ſucceſſion of bad ſeaſons, produced the moſt fatal conſequences to Scotland; and a famine, which laſted for ſeveral years, carried off above 80,000 perſons. The crops were not ſufficiently productive to ſupport the inhabitants, and 200,000 people, being an eighth part of the whole population, were begging from door to door. When the Scots were dying of hunger, and the price of proviſions infinitely dearer than in England, the engliſh were prohibited from relieving them, by means of cruel laws and unfeeling ſtateſmen. This fact would not be credited of a nation calling itſelf generous

nerous and humane, if an inſtance of ſimilar miſanthropy towards France, during the time of profound peace and a ſtrict commercial treaty, were not freſh in our remembrance.

Were the ports of all nations kept conſtantly open and free from import and export duties, there could not be a partial famine, and nothing ſhort of an univerſal ſcarcity could be ſeverely felt. Commerce, like water, would find its own level; and the difference, between the price of commodities, in one country and another, would only be ſufficient to defray the expence of tranſporting them. In the preſent ſtate of things, proviſions may abound in one country, whilſt their neighbours are ſuffering all the horrors of want. But the greateſt of all abſurdities, is the laying a tax upon the poor to enable the merchants to export corn when it is plentiful, and to ſo great a height has this been carried, that the premiums have ſometimes amounted to £300,000 in one year.* It requires little ſagacity to diſcover who made theſe laws; and whilſt they remain in force it is folly to talk of cheapneſs and better times.

During the famine, Fletcher wrote two eſſays on the affairs of Scotland, which he addreſſed to the parliament, with the views of ameliorating

* Smith on the wealth of nations.

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the condition of the poor; and the following extract, from the ſecond, deſerves particular attention, as it paints, in faithful colours, the wretched ſituation of the country. "The firſt thing which I humbly and earneſtly propoſe to that honourable court, is, that they would take into their conſideration, the condition of ſo many thouſands of our people, who are, at this day, dying for want of bread. And to perſuade them ſeriouſly to apply themſelves to ſo indiſpenſible a duty, they have all the inducements, which thoſe moſt powerful emotions of the ſoul, terror and compaſſion, can produce. Becauſe from unwholeſome food, diſeaſes are ſo multiplied among the poor people, that if ſome courſe be not taken, this famine may very probably be followed by a plague; and then what man is there, even of thoſe who ſit in parliament, that can be ſure he ſhall eſcape? and what man is there in this nation, if he have any compaſſion, who muſt not grudge himſelf every nice bit, and every delicate morſel he puts in his mouth, when he conſiders that ſo many are already dead, and ſo many at that minute ſtruggling with death, not for want of bread but of grains, which I am credibly informed have been eaten by ſome families, even during the preceding years of ſcarcity. And muſt not every unneceſſary branch of our expence, or the leaſt finery in our houſes,

clothes or equipage, reproach us with our barbarity, ſo long as people born with natural endowments, perhaps not inferior to our own, and fellow citizens, periſh for want of things abſolutely neceſſary to life?"

Fletcher and his friends conſtantly moved, that no money ſhould be granted by parliament till a redreſs of grievances was obtained, by which means they met the miniſter upon equal ground; and whatever his opinions might be, he was compelled to liſten with attention, and behave with civility.

Some of Fletcher's ſpeeches, on thoſe occaſions are ſtill preſerved, in which his ideas are clear and properly arranged, his language chaſte and correct. Taking antiquity for his model, he had none of that diſguſting bombaſt, which diſgraces the bar and the ſenate, and is ſo offenſive to good taſte. He made no ſtudied appeals to the paſſions, no empty windy harrangues. He ſpoke the dictates of his heart, and his impreſſions were laſting. He made no promiſes, which he did not fulfill; no engagements which he did not keep. He had not one ſyſtem of politics for his private friends, and another for the ſenate. The unfortunate looked up to him, as their protector; the timid approached him, with reverential awe; and the wicked dreaded his reſentment, which was implacable,

placable, if the injury was done to his country.

He aſſociated freely with whigs and tories; and party men, ſtrangers to thoſe generous ſentiments, which actuate an independent mind, were at a loſs to know to what ſect he belonged, or what object he had in view. In company, his diſcourſe, which was of a grave ſerious caſt, generally turned upon morals and politics, when he was fond of drawing compariſons, between the ancient republics and the modern governments of Europe; and with Milton, he uſed to conclude in obſerving, that the trappings of a monarchy would patch up a clever little commonwealth.

Converſing one day in company with Dr. Pitcairn, mention was made of a gentleman, whoſe hiſtory was not diſtinctly known. "I knew the man well," ſaid Fletcher, "he was hereditary profeſſor of divinity at Hamburgh." "Hereditary profeſſor!" ſaid Pitcairn, with a laugh of aſtoniſhment and deriſion. "Yes, doctor," replied Fletcher, "hereditary profeſſor of divinity. What think you of an hereditary king?"

According to Buchan, Fletcher was ever "attentive to the rights of the people, and jealous, as every friend to his country ought to be, of their invaſion by the king and his miniſters; for it is as much of the nature of kings and is miniſters

to invade and deſtroy the rights of the people, as it is of foxes and weaſels to rifle a poultry yard and deſtroy the poultry,—All of them therefore ought to be muzzled."

" I am not ſpeaking," ſays Fletcher, in a treatiſe which he wrote concerning the affairs of Spain, " of the right of ſucceſſion, leaving that to be diſcuſſed by doctors of the laws; nor of the duties of princes, which is the province of divines; but of what has been, and will be, their conſtant practice, which is, to aggrandize themſelves at any rate, by ſeizing in whatever way they are able, the dominions of their neighbours."—Convinced, from hiſtory and experience, of the truth of the above obſervations, he ſtruggled hard to prevent his country from falling under a foreign yoke, which he foreſaw would be the caſe, unleſs the people retained the power in their own hands: This was the only ſecurity againſt oppreſſion, in his opinion; and with this conviction on his mind, he introduced the act of ſecurity, drawn up in a plain manly ſtile, and containing doctrines much more favourable to liberty than magna charta or the bill of rights.

This act ſtrikes at the very root of corruption, and would have prevented any ſet of men, whatever denomination they may aſſume, from invading the rights of the people: as by being armed

armed, they would have been equally ſecured againſt foreign or domeſtic enemies. It was declared that parliaments ſhould be annually elected, and have the power of adjourning from time to time, without the interference of the king. The king was obliged to give his ſanction to all laws offered by the parliament; and his privy-council was to conſiſt of a committee choſen by them.—He was neither to have the power of making peace nor war, nor of concluding treaties, without their conſent. The diſpoſal of all places and offices, civil and military remained in their hands; and all the males of the nation, between 60 and 16 years of age, were to be armed and diſciplined at the public expence. A reform was to have been introduced in the repreſentation, and the modern cuſtom of granting pardons was taken from the crown whilſt the judges were to be elected by the parliament and excluded from a ſeat in the legiſlature. If the king violated any of theſe conditions, he was to have forfeited the crown; and upon the death of her majeſty all commiſſions, civil and military, became null and void.

CHAP. VII.

Obſervations on the Engliſh—Dr. Johnson, Rocheſter &c.—character of an eſtabliſhed church—cruelties committed in the Indies &c.—ancient Scots—the engliſh miniſter conſtantly undermining the liberties of Scotland—Buchanan, the father of the repreſentative ſyſtem—compariſon between him and the arch-biſhop of Cambray.

TO libel every nation as ſervile and mean, is faſhionable with a certain claſs in England, where the people never enjoyed the bleſſings of a conſtitution themſelves, whilſt the adminiſtration, without any interval, has tyrannized over and oppreſſed all countries, which have been unfortunately connected with them. For this ſpecies of illiberality, the brutal Johnſton received a penſion from the court, and Mr. Wilkes was made chamberlain of the city of London. Much has been ſaid, reſpecting the conduct of the earl of Bute, and it is not our intention to defend the crimes of any miniſter; but what nation ever produced men ſo hoſtile to the cauſe of liberty as North and Pitt? If other nations have ſlain their thouſands, England can boaſt of its tens of thouſands. There are in their ſeminaries of learning

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men who have not been outdone by the miniſters themſelves, in the career of deſpotiſm. The univerſity of Oxford thanked ſir George Mackenzie for having confuted the doctrines of Buchanan and Milton, and demonſtrated the divine right of kings to enſlave and oppreſs mankind. And Dr. Tatham, an actual incendiary, during the riots of Birmingham, has been promoted in one of the univerſities for ſaying, "it would be a terrible thing, indeed, if all the people of England ſhould learn to read and write."

The Biſhop of Rocheſter, who is a candidate for preferment, openly declared in the houſe of peers, that the people of England have nothing to do with the government, their ſole buſineſs is to obey their ſuperiors and pay taxes. This was no doubt, an ungarded expreſſion of his lordſhip, yet he ſpoke the concealed ſentiments of the church, for the doctrine of paſſive obedience is not confined to the vatican, and the heart of moſt prieſts is a ſecond Rome. A national church, in its origin, is unfavourable to liberty, in its progreſs, ſubverſive of all ſocial order. It is an aſſociation of men to perpetuate abuſes, tyrannical and unjuſt in proportion to their power; and their connection with the ſtate is the true cauſe, why eccleſiaſtical hiſtory furniſhes nothing but ſcenes of perſecution and blood. There is, how-

ever, a material difference between a privileged corporation and the liberty of opinion. He who inſults his neighbour in performing his devotions, is himſelf a bigot, as well as a perſecutor, he is unacquainted with all the ſocial duties of life, and only fit to be a tyrant or a ſlave. No individual ſhould be compelled to contribute in ſupport of prieſts, whoſe lives are criminal and whoſe doctrines he does not believe; nor ſhould any one be prevented from preaching and praying, provided he does not violate the public peace. In this conſiſts genuine liberty; but it is a liberty to which Engliſhmen are ſtrangers.

Nero and Caligula are juſtly execrated, and the bare mention of their names excites horror in the philantrophic breaſt; yet what were their crimes, when compared with thoſe committed in the name, and by the authority of the Engliſh miniſtry? According to colonel Dow's hiſtory of Hindoſtan, they deſtroyed or expelled in Bengal alone, within the ſhort period of ſix years, five millions of induſtrious and innocent people.* Colonel Dow is ſtill in the ſervice of the eaſt India company. And lord Cornwallis admits, that one third of the company's territory in Hindoſtan, lately the moſt fertile and populous, is

* Quarto Edition, vol. III.

inhabited

inhabited by wild beaſts. Indeed it might be demonſtrated, that above twenty millions of human beings have periſhed, in the Eaſt Indies,† ſince the year 1758, by Engliſh rapacity. Between thirty and forty thouſand Africans are annually dragged to the Weſt Indies and ſold for ſlaves, were the treatment is ſo cruel, that notwithſtanding this yearly augmentation, the population does not increaſe. This ſingle fact ſpeaks more than a volume; and yet ſuch murderous traffic is ſanctioned by the Britiſh ſenate! More than two hundred thouſand men fell in the conteſt with the Americans, whoſe ſole offence was a determination to be free. We ſhall paſs over the loſs of blood and treaſure in the preſent war, as well as the perſecutions in Ireland, with obſerving that if every individual in Great Britain, from the infant at its mother s breaſt, to the hoary headed ſage, had put three perſons to death, the loſs to ſociety would not have been ſo great, nor the crimes of ſo deep a die as thoſe committed, with the approbation of miniſters, in various quarters of the globe, within the laſt forty years; and yet we are inſulted with panegyrics on engliſh humanity.

The Scots before the union of the two crowns

† Vide Col. Dow—Political Progreſs, &c. &c.

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in 1603, enjoyed a very conſiderable ſhare of political freedom. Indeed if the people had not felt the benefits of their laws, they would not have made ſuch prodigious efforts, in repelling the Roman legions; nor been able to withſtand the repeated attacks of the Danes and other northern invaders, for it is unnatural to ſuppoſe that they would have perſevered for ſo many ages, againſt ſuch powerful antagoniſts, unleſs their ſituation had been eaſy and comfortable.

The clans not only elected their chiefs as late as the days of Buchanan, but diſcharged them, if they behaved improperly; and the chiefs elected their kings till the reign of Kenneth III, after which they were ſometimes elective and ſometimes hereditary: but they ſeldom, in the latter caſe, heſitated to change the order of ſucceſſion, when the prince encroached upon their liberties. The king had the right of touching all acts decreed by parliament, with his ſceptre; but he had not the right of withholding it. They never ſubmitted to a veto. The members of parliament were choſen annually; and the times of their meetings and adjournments, as well as the appointment of committees to guard the public tranquility, during the intervals of ſitting, belonged excluſively to themſelves. The parliament conſiſted only of one houſe, compoſed of lords,

lords, the country gentlemen, the borough members and the clergy. The lords were very different from the modern peers; they were the real proprietors of the ſoil; and if they ſold their eſtates they loſt their right to ſit in parliament. A title could not authorize a man to ſport with the liberties of his fellow-creatures. Their kings were neither in poſſeſſion of the ſword nor the purſe. They never attempted to enſlave defenceleſs nations, nor did they deal in human blood.* That infernal ſyſtem of extorting money from the people, and bribing their delegates to betray their intereſt was totally unknown, but ſince the union of the crowns, Scotland has undergone a complete change.

The Engliſh miniſters have been conſtantly extending the prerogative in Scotland. They made the experiment there before they entirely enſlaved their own countrymen. All acts of parliament made in favour of liberty in Scotland,

* The manners of the ancient Scots are well deſcribed by an elegant poet. "When the haughty come to my hall, my eyes behold them not. But my arm is ſtretched forth to the unhappy, my ſword defends the weak." Let us contraſt this with the motto of Bath houſe, "Wretches keep your diſtance." No crime was formery capital in Scotland except murder. Baniſhment was unknown. Indeed no corporal puniſhment of any kind was ever inflicted. Oſſian.

have been omitted in the late editions; and ſome of the Scots themſelves have been extremely active in forging chains for their fellow-countrymen. In ſhort, juſtice has been bought and ſold, and patriotiſm reckoned a diſgrace. This mournful degeneracy had made great progreſs in Fletcher's time, and is pathetically lamented by him in a ſpeech made in parliament, in the following words. "If any juſtice were to be found in this nation, the adviſers of theſe things had long ſince been brought to a ſcaffold. But as there is no crime under heaven more enormous, more treacherous, and more deſtructive to the very nature of our government than that of bribing parliaments, ſo there is nothing more common and barefaced: And I think this ſeſſion ſhould have been opened by purging the houſe from ſuch corrupted members; which if we had done, we had not met with ſo many difficulties and obſtructions of the public ſervice."

It would be unfair to judge of what Sootland was, and what a great majority of the people now are, from the Scots members in the houſe of commons. They neither repreſent the people nor the property of the country. They are nominated by a faction in the intereſt of the court, and they ſerve the faction with fidelity. Nor ought it to be forgotten that it is in a great meaſure

ſure to Buchanan, who, "aroſe in Scotland, like the morning ſtar, to announce the approach of philoſophical day," that Europe is indebted for the little liberty ſhe enjoys. In him were united the moſt elegant learning with the moſt liberal ſentiments. He defended the principles of repreſentative government, "with an energy which no former age had equalled, and no ſucceeding has ſurpaſſed." He drew the ſource of his information from the ſchools of antiquity; but he excelled them all, in his treatiſe concerning the rights of the people; and was the firſt writer of any age or country, who maintained that the whole body of the people, without any exceptions of birth or fortune, had not only a right to vote in chuſing their repreſentatives, but to reject their laws, provided they were not agreeable to the public intereſt.

The pious archbiſhop of Cambray, author of Telemachus, lamenting the miſeries which kings have brought upon mankind, without pointing out a remedy, has met with much applauſe, for adviſing his royal pupil to govern with lenity and moderation. Buchanan, who was likewiſe the tutor of a king, inſtructed the people how they could compel their kings to govern with lenity and moderation. The treatiſe of the former has gone through many editions, and been encouraged

by princes and ſtateſmen. The treatiſe of the latter has met with a different fate. It has been baniſhed from courts, burnt at univerſities, and the moſt favoured authors in the preſent age have exhauſted their genius, and ranſacked ten thouſand volumes to refute his doctrines and throw obliquey on his memory. As there has not been a tranſlation of his political works publiſhed in England, ſince the arrival of the houſe of Hanover, they are now confined to the libraries of the great. He ſhall however, be ſoon brought forward to plead his own cauſe, when the public will have an opportunity of deciding between him and his calumniators.

It is not our intention to hold up the ancient polity of Scotland, as an object of imitation. It had many radical faults, although it would not loſe by a compariſon with any of the contemporary governments in Europe. As the world grows older, it ought to grow wiſer. We are the ſeniors; and ſhould avoid the ſhoals, on which, our leſs experienced fathers have been ſhipwrecked, otherwiſe we live to no purpoſe. Every age and country have a right to legiſlate for themſelves; and the principal uſe of hiſtory is to pilot us, by taking warning of the good and bad fortune of others, throngh the ſtormy ſeas of life. Theſe obſervations might have been omit-

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ted, were not too many people guided by precedent; and were it not cuſtomary with hireling writers, to repreſent the ancient Scots, as a mean, ſervile nation. They were the reverſe. And if the moderns have degenerated from their anceſtors, they may ſay with Jaffeir, "If I am a coward, who made me ſo?"

CHAP. VIII.

Appearance of a revolution in Scotland—Impetuoſity of Fletcher's temper—the union—its fatal effects—character of the Scots—decrease of population—wretched ſtate of the female ſex—the Scots pay £600,000 annually to England—their progress in the cauſe of reform—intereſt and duty the ſame—objections to univerſal ſuffrage removed—poor pay more taxes than the rich—equality of property abſurd—land alone ought to be taxed.

THE limitations introduced by Fletcher were of ſuch a nature as to occaſion much uneaſineſs at court. It was evident, if paſſed into a law, that Scotland could no longer be governed by fo-

reign councils; and a total ſeparation might have endangered the engliſh monarchy. It was likewiſe notorious that Fletcher, and ſome other patriots, had a republican government in view, and thought a ſeparation from England would give them an opportunity of carrying their deſigns into execution. The times were critical, and much caution neceſſary. The principles of civil liberty were not ſufficiently diffuſed amongſt the people. Some of the chiefs thought their grievances would be redreſſed, by the reſtoration of king James, under certain reſtrictions; ſome hoped to eſtabliſh particular forms of religion, and many expected to elevate their own families, upon the ruins of the monarchy. This diverſity of opinions proved fatal to the nation.

It is ſtill a matter of doubt, whether the impetuoſity of Fletcher's temper did not materially injure the cauſe he had in view. He never temporized with his opponents, and ſo irritable was his mind, that when lord Stair, the ſecretary of ſtate, made uſe of ſome expreſſions that ſeemed to glance at him, he immediately ſeized him by the collar, in the parliament houſe, and demanded perſonal ſatisfaction.—Stair was obliged to beg his pardon. Some think, however enlightened a man may be, he ought not to go too far before public opinion. Strong meat is not fit

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for babes; and a ſkilful phyſician will always apportion his medicines, according to the ſtrength of his patient—Like the advanced guard of an army, ſay they, the wary politician ſhould never looſe ſight of the main body, otherwiſe he will be waylayed by intereſted men, and ſacrificed without the poſſibility of relief. He may ſecure poſthumous fame; but he cannot be uſeful to his aſſociates. Others maintain, that he ought to ſet what the world calls prudence at defiance, and be guided alone by his internal feelings.—The queſtion is delicate, and demands ſerious, conſideration.

King William, who had reduced bribery and corruption to a ſyſtem, and given his ſanction to the moſt infamous crimes,* had ſtrenuouſly recommended an union of the two kingdoms before his death, which happened in the year 1702; and queen Ann now ſaw, if the preſent opportunity was loſt, it would be impoſſible to prevent a revolution in Scotland, or at leaſt a total ſeparation from England. Every engine was therefore ſet at work. Such, as had been in correſpondence with the late tyrant, were intimidated with threats of perſecution; titles and preferment were held out to others, and money was diſtributed in profuſion to all thoſe loaded

* Burnet.

with debts, or diſtinguiſhed for avarice. When jealouſy, hatred and ambition, had acquired ſufficient maturity and palſied their councils, the queen nominated commiſſioners for ſettling the articles of union, which was finally agreed upon in May 1707.

The news was felt, as an electric ſhoke, from one end of the country to the other. The people flew to arms, and the treaty was publickly burnt in the market places. The engliſh cabinet took the alarm. The forces in England and Ireland were ordered to be ready at a moment's warning, and the troops recalled from Flanders; yet theſe preparations would not have intimidated the Scots, had not ſecret ſervice money gained over part of their chiefs.—The diſcontent was general; but there was no unanimity, no plan of operations.

By this ſhameful tranſaction, which is equally diſgraceful to both nations, the whole power of Scotland was thrown into the hands of an ariſtocratic faction, dependent on the engliſh miniſters. The parliament of Scotland had aſſembled to tranſact the common buſineſs of the nation, and they betrayed their truſt, for perſonal conſiderations, whilſt the engliſh court bought the ſovereignty of a country from thoſe who had no right to diſpoſe of it. The one acted as brokers

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in ſtolen goods, the others as receivers. It was the ruin of Scotland, which may be conſidered in the light of a province, and England was not benefited by it; for although it gave the cabinet a great preponderance in the political ſcale, yet owing to a variety of cauſes, the advantages reſulting from it, inſtead of being extended to the whole body of the people, have been confined to a few. That Scots intereſt, which ſold their own country, has proved the willing inſtruments of every miniſter, and is equally injurious to the liberty of both nations. The modern repreſentation of Scotland is a mere mockery; and nine-tenths of the people hardly know when the nomination for members of parliament takes place.

In Fletcher's opinion, nothing could have proved ſo unfavourable to the Scots as the union, which he conſidered the ſigning their political death. In the midſt of bribery and intrigue, he remained faithful to his truſt. He lamented with grief and indignation the corruption and degeneracy of the times, pointing out the natural conſequences of ſo unjuſt, ſo partial a treaty; and when overpowered by numbers, and deſerted by pretended friends, he reſolved to leave a country, for which, in the bloom and vigour of youth, he had often riſked his life and fortune, and ſerved with unſhaken fidelity, in his more advanced years.

years. He therefore took his leave, and with ſorrow too big for utterance, bid a laſt adieu to his native land.

Since the union, the ancient ſpirit of the Scots is broken, and nothing preſents a more dreary aſpect than two-thirds of the meagre, tattered peaſantry. Their countenances are thoughtful, pale and ghaſtly; their tone of voice melancholy and ſad. Their muſic and ſongs, which commemorate the happier days of their fathers, are ſometimes wild and irregular, ſometimes plaintive and ſlow; and whilſt they fire the patriot-breaſt with a love of virtue, indicate a regret for the times that are paſt. They relate with ſullen pride, the deeds of their anceſtors, and conclude their innocent ſtories, which are of a ſerious mournful caſt, with a deep fetched ſigh. Age, long before its accuſtomed time, furrows their brows with care, and inclines their bodies to the earth. Their gait is ſolemn; and their very games and amuſements beſpeak their miſeries. Whenever liberty and hoſpitality are mentioned, the indignant boſom heaves with reſentment; and even when dying, pants to be free. Their religious turn of mind, and their enthuſiaſm after pleaſure, in an ideal world, where riches and poverty make no diſtinction, are additional proofs that they enjoy little here. The

aged

aged relate tales of woe to their children, and in broken accents, beſeech them to remember their wrongs.

The population has decreaſed, and their learning and ingenuity, in which they are inferior to none of their neighbours, inſtead of meliorating their condition, have been employed in riveting their chains. According to the moſt accurate information, there are more males than females born in Scotland, and yet the number of women at preſent exceeds the number of men above 100,000. Doomed to lead a life of celibacy, and deprived of the joys of conjugal love; they are prevented, by poverty, from endeavouring to change their condition, by emigrating to foreign countries; but ſhould they diſcover that their helpleſs lot is owing to partial laws, the Scottiſh laſſes may become as formidable to a corrupt miniſtry, as the fiſh-women of Paris. A country, in ſuch an unnatural ſtate, will ever be ready to embrace a change; and the revival of the repreſentative ſyſtem has met with many ſupporters amidſt perſecution and death.

The Scots cannot ſee without regret 600,000l.* ſent annually to England, for which they receive nothing in return; nor can they help lamenting

* See one of the following notes.

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the flower of their youth, who are ſacrificed in cruel wars, in which they are not intereſted. They believe a fair and equal repreſentation, in parliament, would be the means of eſtabliſhing a perpetual peace, of increaſing the price of labour, and diminiſhing the price of bread, meat, beer, and all the neceſſaries of life.—Cool and deliberate, they calculate the advantages and diſadvantages of a change, and proceed, in the cauſe of reformation, with a ſure and ſteady pace. They know the general increaſes his army by adding man to man, the miſer his ſtore by adding penny to penny; and that the ſame plan, purſued, in making converts, will ſoon ſecure a majority of the people, whoſe united voice is the voice of thunder, and whoſe will no faction dare controul. It is impoſſible to foretel the exact courſe of events, which depend upon a variety of circumſtances, yet if a revolution, in thinking, be always followed by a revolution in acting, matters cannot continue long as they are. And if changes be inevitable, let us hope, the experience of ages, and the admonitions of the wiſe, will direct them to the benefit of mankind.

Let care be taken in fixing the balance of wealth upon genuine principles, and factions will diſappear, as the leſſer ſtars at the approach of day.—Ignorance, or a proſpect of temporary gain, may

prevail

prevail upon a few to oppoſe the emancipation of their country, but their ſtruggles will be fruitleſs, and terminate in their own deſtruction, for no doctrine is more erroneous, or attended with more injury to ſociety, than a belief that our intereſt and duty are at varience. If the author of nature planted two ſuch oppoſite paſſions in the human breaſt, he muſt be guilty of taking delight in our quarrels, and the reign of peace and fraternity can never be eſtabliſhed upon earth? for the bands that bind ſociety together cannot be permanent, unleſs all the members have an intereſt in preſerving them.

It has been ſaid with a ſort of triumph, that although a repreſentative government appears beautiful in theory, it could not be reduced to practice; and that if the right of voting were extended to labourers and domeſtics, it would only increaſe the power of the maſters, who would conſtantly influence their dependents. This is aſſertion without proof. Every theory, founded in nature, is certainly practicable. At preſent the maſters have the ſole power, and how dividing it with their ſervants would increaſe that power is ſurely an abſurdity.—Beſides, if the maſters expect an increaſe of authority, why are they alarmed? Do the ſervants dread the conſequence?

It is probable, in the preſent ſtate of ſociety that the want of information would induce many to vote for their immediate employers, without enquiring into their merits; but in the progreſs of civilization, the obligation between ſervant and maſter would become mutual; and that ſervile dependence, as diſguſting to generous minds, would be totally unknown. Nor is it hiſtorically true, that wealth places its poſſeſſors above the temptation of gain. There are innumerable examples, where men, with princely fortunes, have betrayed their country, for a paltry ſum, or an empty title, whilſt others, with ſcarcely food to eat, or a bed to lie on, have ſpurned the bribes of corruption, and preferred chains and death to a deviation from virtue. At the ſame time it is granted, that ſtraitened circumſtances, as well as exceſſive riches, are injurious to morality.

Another objection to intruſting the people, with a ſhare in the legiſlature, is a pretended fear, leaſt they would level all diſtinctions, and divide private property equally amongſt themſelves. This objection has leſs foundation in truth than the former. The houſe of peers and the legiſlative bodies of every country, are of different ranks, and poſſeſs different ſhares of property, yet they have equal votes in framing the laws; nor

nor was it ever known that the poorer ſuggeſted a plan for equalizing the property of the richer.

In a republican army, there are no examples of the ſoldiers complaining becauſe their pay is inferior to their generals. They are ſufficiently happy in the conviction, that their courage and patriotiſm will be rewarded, provided they acquire the good opinion of their countrymen, and that there are no inſurmountable obſtacles in the way of their promotion.

Some ſay the poor ought to be excluded, becauſe they do not contribute to the ſupport of the ſtate. This aſſertion is as unfounded as the reſt. The taxes collected for beer, coals, candles, ſoap, ſalt, and other articles of the firſt neceſſity, amount to a much larger ſum than the land tax; beſides, the land would produce nothing, were it not owing to the labour of the poor.—Were any excluſion to take place, it ought to be the rich, becauſe property takes care of itſelf; but a free people would never violate juſtice. They would cheriſh the fraternal principle, and carefully avoid every thing tending to promote envy and ſtrife.

He who is more induſtrious than his neighbour will conſequently enjoy more wealth; and certain purſuits, as they require more application and genius than others, ought to be proportionably rewarded. It was never deſigned for every one

to cultivate the earth, or plow the ocean; and a thought is frequently of more benefit to ſociety than the manual labour of twenty years:—beſides the produce of our own induſtry and talents, we have a right to the property of our deceaſed parents and relations, under certain reſtrictions.

Riches and poverty are relative terms, and in a well regulated ſociety, exceſſive wealth would be as unneceſſary to the poſſeſſor, as impoſſible to be acquired. No man conſumes thouſands upon himſelf. The benevolent divides his wealth with his poorer friends and relations; the vain ſquanders it upon equipage and dreſs, and the miſer locks it up in his coffers. Under an œconomical government, the anti-chambers of the rich would ceaſe to be crowded with dependents, as the poor would ſoon acquire a ſufficiency by induſtry; and the good man, in eaſy circumſtances, would be freed from the painful neceſſity of refuſing what he cannot afford to give; whilſt the bad would not have it in his power to add inſult to misfortune, by a haughty, imperious refuſal. None will regret the miſer.

As governments are now conſtituted there are no bounds to expence; for the courtier or monopoliſt can increaſe his fortune at pleaſure.—Were not miniſters permitted to extort thouſands and tens of thouſands from the public purſe, every

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one would know his rank and ſituation in life, and regulate his expences accordingly.—The extravagant example of a few ſucceſsful plunderers would not involve him in uſeleſs parade, and a decent competency would ſupply all the wants of nature. This ſubject cannot be too often explained, by the friends of freedom; becauſe a great number of well meaning people dread the loſs of all property, were the ſlighteſt reform to take place. By their obſtinacy, or rather want of reflection, they endanger the very wealth which they are ſo ſolicitous to preſerve, and may occaſion a convulſion, which all good men wiſh to prevent.

With regard to taxation it will readily be allowed, that no ſociety can be ſupported without expences; and the expences ought to fall upon every member in proportion to the benefits he derives from it: and as nations, however extenſive the territory or numerous the population, are only ſocieties upon a large ſcale, the expence of maintaining them ſhould be regulated in the ſame manner. Now as the earth, in its natural ſtate, is as common as the air and water, would it not be proper that what was originally common to all ſhould ſtill ſupply the wants of all? But in treating of the land, it is neceſſary to make this diſtinction, that although the land, in an uncultivated ſtate, is common property, yet the labour

beſtowed, in cultivating and improving it, is private property of the moſt ſacred kind. Let private property remain ſacred, and let a tax, equal to what may be ſuppoſed its natural value, be levied to defray the expences of government. The preſent land tax in Great Britain amounts to about two millions annually; and although a much ſmaller ſum would be ſufficient to defray the expences of a well regulated government, it could be increaſed to three millions; and yet all thoſe, not poſſeſſed of an hundred a year, independent of their daily labour, might be totally exempted. In which caſe, a very few agents would be able to collect the whole revenue, without the power of defrauding the public or injuring individuals. There ought to be no other tax whatever.

It is well known that hope and fear are the two moſt powerful motives that actuate the human heart? and it ſhould be the ſtudy of every ſociety to hold up the certainty of puniſhment, with poverty and contempt, to the vicious and ſlothful. But from ſome governments the people have nothing to hope and every thing to fear. If they are healthy and induſtrious, the produce of their labour, will be extorted from them to ſupply rapacious courtiers; if infirm or incapable of labour, they will be left to periſh deſpiſed and inſulted.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Writings of Fletcher—his death—description of his person—comparison between him and Cato—concluſion.

IT is an axiom, amongſt philoſophers, that man brings no ideas into the world. The mind is an entire blank, and takes the firſt impreſſions, whether they be good or bad. This being the caſe, the education of youth is of the greateſt importance; and on this ſubject, Fletcher, after his voluntary exile, wrote a treatiſe highly characteric of himſelf, which is ſtill preſerved in the liberary at Salton.* His other writings, beſides thoſe inſerted in this work, are two treatiſes on the affairs of Scotland, written in 1698, and a ſpeech on the ſtate of the nation in 1701. He likewiſe compoſed an eſſay, in the ſpaniſh language, on the political ſituation of that country; and ſeveral anonymous tracts, with his ſpeeches in parliament, which have gone through many editions. In one of his treatiſes, on the affairs of Scotland, he dwells particularly on the neceſſity of prevent-

* Ency. Brit.

ing too large a quantity of land, from falling into the hands of a few individuals. The eſſay on militias, and the converſation, ſpeak ſufficiently for themſelves, and, independent of their political merit, rank with the firſt compoſitions in the engliſh language.

He continued to dedicate his time to literature, employing his leiſure hours, in collecting curious and valuable books till the year 1717, when he died. His corps, in a leaden coffin, was brought to Scotland by his ſervants, and depoſited in the burial place of the family at Salton, in eaſt Lothian, where there is a plain monument and an inſcription to his memory.

In his perſon, Fletcher, was of a low ſtature, thin and of a brown complexion; his eyes keen, penetrating and full of fire; and a gentle frown of quick ſenſibility appeared often upon his countenance. His imagination was lively, his judgment ſolid and correct.—From deep reflection, he had acquired a thoughtful appearance, and his mind ſeemed abſtracted from the pleaſures of the day, and fixed upon futurity. He was extremely active, and though not of a robuſt conſtitution, capable of bearing much fatigue, plain in his dreſs, moderate in his diet and of no predominent vice. —Kind, but particular to his domeſtics and tenants, eaſy of acceſs, punctual in all his dealings

and

and obliging to his neighbours. He was maſter of the greek, latin, french, german and italian languages; but although he wrote the laſt with much purity, he could ſcarcely make his pronunciation intelligible to others, as appears from an interview he had with prince Eugine, when the prince addreſſing him in Italian, Fletcher, in reply, could not make himſelf underſtood.

Lord Marſhal, when governor of Neufchatel, where Rouſſeau reſided in 1766 adviſed him to write the memoirs of Fletcher, and materials were collected for that purpoſe; but owing to circumſtances, with which we are unacquainted, they were never finiſhed. This is the more to be regreted, as his lordſhip was in poſſeſſion of the beſt authorities, and none better qualified than Rouſſeau to do juſtice to his memory.

Thus lived and thus died Fletcher of Salton, the pride of his country, and one of the greateſt men that any age has produced. He was neither elated with proſperity nor diſcouraged by adverſity; but withſtood the ſhocks of good and bad fortune with a philoſophic calm. In argument he was warm and animated, ſeldom inclining to make the leaſt conceſſion. He ſpoke little, unleſs perfectly maſter of the ſubject, and then became impatient of contradiction. In buſineſs he was capable of the cloſeſt application, and whatever

ever he followed ſeemed to engroſs his whole ſoul; nor did he relinquiſh any purſuit, till its accomplifhment was impracticable; when he appeared ſullen and moroſe, but ſcorned to complain. Like a majeſtic oak, whoſe ſtately branches protect the neighbouring ſhrubs, he defended the cauſe of the people, with a magnanimity and courage of which we have few examples. Subjected to perſecution and danger, to exile and death, he betrayed no ſymptoms of fear, no deviation from principle. Too proud to flatter, and too honeſt to deceive, he was a ſtranger to faction, and alternately calumniated by whigs and tories. Superior to the times, in which he lived, he was equally free from ſuperſtition and impiety. Conquerors ſpring up in all ages, and every tribe can produce a long liſt of heroes; but a truly great man is what nature ſeldom beſtows, ſhe is ſparing of her gifts.

Cato and Fletcher bear a ſtrong reſemblance; and the incorruptible Scot was not inferior to the Roman. Cato was born to large poſſeſſions, and expoſed to the temptations of a vitiated city, yet he preſerved an unſullied character to the grave. Fletcher was likewiſe heir to large eſtates, and had examples equally pernicious to withſtand. In Rome, there was nothing republican except the name. All offices were bought and ſold, and patrio-

patriotiſm an empty ſound. In Scotland, a bigoted tyrant had introduced a military government; every man of worth and integrity was perſecuted, whilſt the maſs of the people was either ſunk in ſuperſtition, or ſo worn out with oppreſſion, as to be incapable of action.

From his youth Cato applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and endeavoured, by the force ot reaſon and the precepts of truth, to revive the ancient ſpirit of his countrymen, and bring them back to the paths of virtue. Fletcher had no ſooner arrived at the years of diſcretion, than he appeared in the council of the nation, with all the dignity of a ſenator; inſtead of fawning to men in power, or courting favour from the great, he oppoſed the torrent of corruption, and prevented for a time the enſlavement of Scotland. Cato was addicted to no vice, auſtere in his manners. of an unforgiving temper, and ready to ſacrifice every enjoyment for the glory of Rome. Fletcher's diſpoſition was violent, his morals rigid and ſevere, his word ſacred as his oath, and although he loved his country to exceſs, he would not have ſullied his honour to have ſaved it. Cato was kind and attentive to his friends; yet his attachment to liberty made him oppoſe his relations, and bear arms againſt his ſon-in-law, refuſing to treat with the enemies of Rome.

Fletcher's

Fletcher's affection for his friends was as ardent as ſincere—no reverſe of fortune—no change of place made the leaſt impreſſion on his mind.—His purſe was open as his heart, and he refuſed nothing that depended on himſel; but his voice was his country's ;* and the moment his aſſociates deviated from truth, that moment he became their irreconcileable enemy.

Both Cato and Fletcher were of opinion that all actions ought to be rewarded or puniſhed, according to their utility or detriment to ſociety; and neither of them ever forgave an enemy, or deſerted a virtuous man in diſtreſs. Cato ſaw the aſpiring Ceſar, after dying the plains of Pharſalia with human blood, trample, upon the liberties of Rome. The ſituation of Fletcher was ſtill more painful to a generous mind—he ſaw a people, who had bidden defiance to roman valour, and whom ſteel could never ſubdue, overcome by the more dangerous weapons of corruption. Both

* This trait in Fletcher's character recals to our remembrance, the ſaying of that truly great and good man major Cartwright. "I have no fox-hunting vote to beſtow on any one; no, not even for ſacred friendſhip. To my friend I will give my purſe, my hand, my heart; but I will not give him that which is not mine. My vote I hold in truſt; my vote, belongs to my country, and my country alone ſhall have it."

had

had the misfortune of ſurviving the liberties of their countries, and neither could endure to ſee them in chains. Cato, with ſtoic fortitude, plunged a dagger into his boſom. Fletcher retired to a foreign land, and, with his mind ever fixed on Scotland, waited, with anxious ſolicitude, for an opportunity of revenging her wrongs.

CONCLUSION.

May the youth of Scotland, too long ſhackeled with religious, bigotry and hereditary diſtinctions, ſoon experience the beneign influence of liberty. May the manes of Wallace, Buchanan and Fletcher inſpire them with a love of true greatneſs—may they learn to deſpiſe the littleneſs of courts, and, fixing their attention on their native country; depend only on themſelves! May they bury the remembrance of their paſt injuries in oblivion, and take care to ſecure their liberty and independence in future! May they diſtinguiſh between the miniſters of England and the people, who are their friends and brothers in affliction! May thoſe patriot ſouls, now groaning in fetters of iron, and marked out as victims to ariſtocratic vengeance, preſerve that manly dignity, which characterized Fletcher, and teach thoſe who oppreſs them, that though the good may be unfortunate, they cannot be unhappy. Their firmneſs

will

will blunt the ferocity of their enemies, and ſtrike with terror thoſe hearts of adamant, which ſenſibility never reached—The very entrails of our country have been torn by domeſtic factions, and nothing but unanimity and courage can ſave us from impending ruin. Let us learn, therefore, to inſtruct and befriend one another. Perſeverance will overcome the greateſt difficulties, and fortune ſeldom forſakes the brave.

A

DISCOURSE

OF

GOVERNMENT,

WITH RELATION TO

MILITIAS.

THERE is not perhaps in human affairs, any thing ſo unaccountable as the indignity and cruelty with which the far greater part of mankind ſuffer themſelves to be uſed under pretence of government. For ſome men, falſly perſuading themſelves that bad governments are advantageous to them, as moſt conducing to gratify their ambition, avarice, and luxury, ſet themſelves with the utmoſt art and violence to procure their eſtabliſhment: and by ſuch men almoſt the whole world has been trampled under foot, and ſubjected to tyranny, for want of underſtanding by what means and methods they were enſlaved. For

though mankind take great care and pains to inſtruct themſelves in other arts and ſciences, yet very few apply themſelves to conſider the nature of government, an enquiry ſo uſeful and neceſſary both to magiſtrate and people. Nay, in moſt countries the arts of ſtate being altogether directed either to enſlave the people, or to keep them under ſlavery; it is become almoſt every where a crime to reaſon about matters of government. But if men would beſtow a ſmall part of the time and application which they throw away upon curious but uſeleſs ſtudies, or endleſs gaming, in peruſing thoſe excellent rules and examples of government, which the ancients have left us, they would ſoon be enabled to diſcover all ſuch abuſes and corruptions as tend to the ruin of public ſocieties. It is therefore very ſtrange that they ſhould think ſtudy and knowledge neceſſary in every thing they go about, except in the nobleſt and moſt uſeful of all applications, the art of government.

Now if any man incompaſſion to the miſeries of a people ſhould endeavour to diſabuſe them in any thing relating to government, he will certainly incur the diſpleaſure, and perhaps be purſued by the rage of thoſe, who think they find their account in the oppreſſion of the world; but will hardly ſucceed in his endeavours to undeceive the multi-

tude.

tude (*a.*) For the generality of all ranks of men are cheated by words and names; and provided the ancient terms and outward forms of any government be retained, let the nature of it be never ſo much altered, they continue to dream that they ſhall ſtill enjoy their former liberty, and are not to be awakened till it prove too late. Of this there are many remarkable examples in hiſtory; but that particular inſtance which I have choſen to inſiſt on, as moſt ſuitable to my purpoſe, is, the alteration of government which happened in moſt countries of Europe about the year 1500. And it is worth obſervation, that though this change was fatal to their liberty, yet it was not introduced by the contrivance of ill-deſigning men; nor were the miſchievous conſequences perceived, unleſs perhaps by a few wiſe men, who, if they ſaw it, wanted power to prevent it.

Two hundred years being already paſſed ſince this alteration began, Europe has felt the effects of it by ſad experience; and the true cauſes of the change are now become more viſible.

To lay open this matter in its full extent, it will be neceſſary to look farther back, and examine the original and conſtitution of thoſe governments that were eſtabliſhed in Europe about the year 400, and continued till this alteration.

When the Goths, Vandals, and other warlike

nations, had at different times, and under different leaders, over-run the weſtern parts of the Roman empire, they introduced the following form of government into all the nations they ſubdued. The general of the army became king of the conquered country; and the conqueſt being abſolute, he divided the lands amongſt the great officers of his army, afterwards called barons; who again parcelled out their ſeveral territories in ſmaller portions to the inferior ſoldiers that had followed them in the wars, and who then became their vaſſals, enjoying thoſe lands for military ſervice. The king reſerved to himſelf ſome demeſnes for the maintenance of his court and attendance. When this was done, there was no longer any ſtanding army kept on foot, but every man went to live upon his own lands; and when the defence of the country required an army, the king ſummoned the barons to his ſtandard, who came attended with their vaſſals. Thus were the armies of Europe compoſed for about eleven hundred years; and this conſtitution of government put the ſword into the hands of the ſubject, becauſe the vaſſals depended more immediately on the barons than on the king, which effectually ſecured the freedom of thoſe governments. For the barons could not make uſe of their power to deſtroy thoſe limited monarchies, without deſtroy-

ing

ing their own grandeur, nor could the king invade their privileges, having no other forces than the vaſſals of his own demeſnes to rely upon for his ſupport in ſuch an attempt.

I lay no great ſtreſs on any other limitations of thoſe monarchies; nor do I think any ſo eſſential to the liberties of the people, as that which placed the ſword in the hands of the ſubject. And ſince in our time moſt princes of Europe are in poſſeſſion of the ſword, by ſtanding mercenary forces kept up in time of peace, abſolutely depending upon them, I ſay that all ſuch governments are changed from monarchies to tyrannies. Nor can the power of granting or refuſing money, though veſted in the ſubject, be a ſufficient ſecurity for liberty, where a ſtanding mercenary army is kept up in time of peace: for he that is armed, is always maſter of the purſe of him that is unarmed.(*b*) And not only that government is tyrannical, which is tyrannically exerciſed; but all governments are tyrannical, which have not in their conſtitution a ſufficient ſecurity againſt the arbitrary power of the prince.

I do not deny that theſe limited monarchies, during the greatneſs of the barons, had ſome defects: I know few governments free from them. But after all, there was a balance that kept thoſe governments ſteady, and an effectual proviſion

againſt the encroachments of the crown. I do leſs pretend that the preſent governments can be reſtored to the conſtitution before mentioned. The following diſcourſe will ſhew the impoſſibility of it. My deſign in the firſt place is, to explain the nature of the paſt and preſent governments of Europe, and to diſabuſe thoſe who think them the ſame, becauſe they are called by the ſame names; and who ignorantly clamour againſt ſuch as would preſerve that liberty which is yet left.

In order to this, and for a further and clearer illuſtration of the matter, I ſhall deduce from their originals, the cauſes, occaſions, and the complication of thoſe many unforeſeen accidents, which falling out much about the ſame time, produced ſo great a change. And it will at firſt ſight ſeem very ſtrange, when I ſhall name the reſtoration of learning, the invention of printing, of the needle and of gunpowder, as the chief of them; things in themſelves ſo excellent, and which, the laſt only excepted, might have proved of infinite advantage to the world, if their remote influence upon government had been obviated by ſuitable remedies. Such odd conſequences, and of ſuch a different nature, accompany extraordinary inventions of any kind.

Conſtantinople being taken by Mahomet the

ſecond,

ſecond, in the year 1453, many learned Greeks fled over into Italy; where the favourable reception they found from the popes, princes, and republics of that country, ſoon introduced, amongſt the better ſort of men, the ſtudy of the greek tongue, and of the ancient authors in that language. About the ſame time likewiſe ſome learned men began to reſtore the purity of the latin tongue. But that which moſt contributed to the advancement of all kind of learning, and eſpecially the ſtudy of the ancients, was the art of printing; which was brought to a great degree of perfection a few years after. By this means their books became common, and their arts generally underſtood and admired. But as mankind from a natural propenſion to pleaſure, is always ready to chuſe out of every thing what may moſt gratify that vicious appetite; ſo the arts which the Italians firſt applied themſelves to improve, were principally thoſe that had been ſubſervient to the luxury of the ancients in the moſt corrupt ages, of which they had many monuments ſtill remaining. Italy was preſently filled with architects, painters and ſculptors; and a prodigious expence was made in buildings, pictures and ſtatues. Thus the Italians began to come off from their frugal and military way of living, and addicted themſelves to the purſuit of refined and expenſive pleaſures,

pleaſures, as much as the wars of thoſe times would permit. This infection ſpread itſelf by degrees into the neighbouring nations. But theſe things alone had not been ſufficient to work ſo great a change in government, if a preceding invention, brought into common uſe about that time, had not produced more new and extraordinary effects than any had ever done before; which probably may have many conſequences yet unforeſeen, and a farther influence upon the manners of men, as long as the world laſts; I mean, the invention of the needle, by the help of which navigation was greatly improved, a paſſage opened by ſea to the Eaſt-Indies, and a new world diſcovered. By this means the luxury of Aſia and America was added to that of the ancients; and all ages, and all countries concurred to ſink Europe into an abyſs of pleaſures, which were rendered the more expenſive by a perpetual change of the faſhions in clothes, equipage and furniture of houſes.

Theſe things brought a total alteration in the way of living, upon which all government depends. It is true, knowledge being mightily increaſed, and a great curioſity and nicety in every thing introduced, men imagined themſelves to be gainers in all points, by changing from their frugal and military way of living, which I muſt confeſs

confeſs had ſome mixture of rudeneſs and ignorance in it, though not inſeparable from it. But at the ſame time they did not conſider the unſpeakable evils that are altogether inſeparable from an expenſive way of living.

To touch upon all theſe, though ſlightly, would carry me too far from my ſubject: I ſhall therefore content myſelf to apply what has been ſaid, to the immediate deſign of this diſcourſe.

The far greater ſhare of all thoſe expences fell upon the barons; for they were the perſons moſt able to make them, and their dignity ſeemed to challenge whatever might diſtinguiſh them from other men. This plunged them on a ſudden into ſo great debts, that if they did not ſell, or otherwiſe alienate their lands, they found themſelves at leaſt obliged to turn the military ſervice their vaſſals owed them, into money; partly by way of rent, and partly by way of leaſe, or fine, for payment of their creditors. And by this means the vaſſal having his lands no longer at ſo eaſy a rate as before, could no more be obliged to military ſervice, and ſo became a tenant. Thus the armies, which in preceding times had been always compoſed of ſuch men as theſe, ceaſed of courſe, and the ſword fell out of the hands of the barons. But there being always a neceſſity to provide for the defence of every country, princes

were

were afterwards allowed to raiſe armies of volunteers and mercenaries. And great ſums were given by diets and parliaments for their maintenance, to be levied upon the people, grown rich by trade, and diſpirited for want of military exerciſe. Such forces were at firſt only raiſed for preſent exigencies, and continued no longer on foot than the occaſions laſted. But princes ſoon found pretences to make them perpetual, the chief of which was the garriſoning frontier towns and fortreſſes; the methods of war being altered to the tedious and chargeable way of ſieges, principally by the invention of gunpowder. The officers and ſoldiers of theſe mercenary armies depending for their ſubſiſtence and preferment, as immediately upon the prince, as the former militias did upon the barons, the power of the ſword was transferred from the ſubject to the king, and war grew a conſtant trade to live by. Nay, many of the barons themſelves being reduced to poverty by their expenſive way of living, took commands in thoſe mercenary troops; and being ſtill continued hereditary members of diets, and other aſſemblies of ſtate, after the loſs of their vaſſals, whom they formerly repreſented, they were now the readieſt of all others to load the people with heavy taxes, which were employed to increaſe the prince's military power, by guards, armies, and citadels, beyond bounds or remedy.

Some

Some princes with much impatience preſſed on to arbitrary power before things were ripe, as the kings of France and Charles duke of Burgundy. Philip de Commines ſays of the latter, ‘ That ‘ having made a truce with the king of France, he ‘ called an aſſembly of the eſtates of his country, ‘ and remonſtrated to them the prejudice he had ‘ ſuſtained by not having ſtanding troops as that ‘ king had; that if five hundred men had been ‘ in garriſon upon their frontier, the king of Franec ‘ would never have undertaken that war; and ‘ having repreſented the miſchiefs that were ready ‘ to fall upon them for want of ſuch a force, he ‘ earneſtly preſſed them to grant ſuch a ſum as ‘ would maintain eight hundred lances. At ‘ length they gave him a hundred and twenty ‘ thouſand crowns more than his ordinary revenue, ‘ (from which tax Burgundy was exempted.) ‘ But his ſubjects were for many reaſons under ‘ great apprehenſions of falling into the ſubjec- ‘ tion to which they ſaw the kingdom of France ‘ already reduced by means of ſuch troops. And ‘ truly their apprehenſions were not ill-grounded; ‘ for when he had got together five or ſix hundred ‘ men at arms, he preſently had a mind to more, ‘ and with them diſturbed the peace of all his ‘ neighbours: he augmented the tax from one ‘ hundred and twenty to five hundred thouſand

‘ crowns,

'crowns, and increaſed the numbers of thoſe men 'at arms, by whom his ſubjects were greatly op-'preſſed.' Francis de Beaucaire, Biſhop of Metz, in his hiſtory of France, ſpeaking of the ſame affair, ſays, 'That the foreſaid ſtates could not be 'induced to maintain mercenary forces, being 'ſenſible of the difficulties into which the com-'monalty of France had brought themſelves by 'the like conceſſion; that princes might increaſe 'their forces at pleaſure, and ſometimes (even 'when they had obtained money) pay them ill, 'to the vexation and deſtruction of the poor peo-'ple; and likewiſe, that kings and princes, 'not contented with their ancient patrimony, 'were always ready, under this pretext, to break 'in upon the properties of all men, and to raiſe 'what money they pleaſed. That nevertheleſs 'they gave him a hundred and twenty thouſand 'crowns yearly, which he ſoon increaſed to five 'hundred thouſand: but that Burgundy (which 'was the ancient dominion of that family) retain-'ed its ancient liberty, and could by no means be 'obliged to pay any part of this new tax.' It is true, Philip de Commines ſubjoins to the forecited paſſage, that he believes ſtanding forces may be well employed under a wiſe king or prince; but that if he be not ſo, or leaves his children young, the uſe that he or their governors make of them, is not always profitable either for the king

king or his ſubjects. If this addition be his own, and not rather an inſertion added by the preſident of the parliament of Paris, who publiſhed, and as the foreſaid Francis de Beaucaire ſays he was credibly informed, corrupted his memoirs, yet experience ſhews him to be miſtaken: for the example of his maſter, Louis the eleventh, whom, upon many occaſions he calls a wiſe prince, and thoſe of moſt princes under whom ſtanding forces were firſt allowed, demonſtrates, that they are more dangerous under a wiſe prince than any other: and reaſon tells us, that if they are the only proper inſtruments to introduce arbitrary power, as ſhall be made plain, a cunning and able prince, who by the world is called a wiſe one, is more capable of uſing them to that end, than a weak prince, or governors during a minority; and that a wiſe prince, having once procured them to be eſtabliſhed, they will maintain themſelves under any.

I am not ignorant, that before this change, ſubſidies were often given by diets, ſtates, and parliaments, and ſome raiſed by the edicts of princes for maintaining wars; but theſe were ſmall, and no way ſufficient to ſubſiſt ſuch numerous armies as thoſe of the barons militia. There were likewiſe mercenary troops ſometimes entertained by princes who aimed at arbitrary power,

and by ſome commonwealths in time of war for their own defence; but theſe were only ſtrangers, or in very ſmall numbers, and held no proportion with thoſe vaſt armies of mercenaries which this change has fixed upon Europe, to her affliction and ruin.

What I have ſaid hitherto has been always with regard to one or other, and often to moſt countries in Europe. What follows will have a more particular regard to Britain; where though, the power of the barons be ceaſed, yet no mercenary troops are yet eſtabliſhed. The reaſon of which is, that England had, before this great alteration, loſt all her conqueſts in France, the town of Calais only excepted; and that alſo was taken by the French before the change was thoroughly made. So that the kings of England had no pretence to keep up ſtanding forces, either to defend conqueſts abroad, or to garriſon a frontier towards France, ſince the ſea was now become the only frontier between thoſe two countries.

Neither could the frontier towards Scotland afford any colour to thoſe princes for raiſing ſuch forces, ſince the kings of Scotland had none; and that Scotland was not able to give money for the ſubſiſting any conſiderable number. It is true, the example of France, with which country Scotland had conſtant correſpondence, and ſome French

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counſellors about Mary of Guiſe, queen dowager and regent of Scotland, induced her to propoſe a tax for the ſubſiſting of mercenary ſoldiers to be employed for the defence of the frontier of Scotland; and to eaſe, as was pretended, the barons of that trouble. But in that honourable and wiſe remonſtrance, which was made by three hundred of the leſſer barons (as much diſſatisfied with the lords, who, by their ſilence, betrayed the public liberty, as with the regent herſelf) ſhe was told, that their forefathers had defended themſelves and their fortunes againſt the Engliſh, when that nation was much more powerful than they were at that time, and had made frequent incurſions into their country; that they themſelves had not ſo far degenerated from their anceſtors, to refuſe, when occaſion required, to hazard their lives and fortunes in the ſervice of their country: that as to the hiring of mercenary ſoldiers, it was a thing of great danger, to put the liberty of Scotland into the hands of men, who are of no fortunes, nor have any hopes but in the public calamity; who, for money, would attempt any thing; whoſe exceſſive avarice opportunity would inflame to a deſire of all manner of innovations, and whoſe faith would follow the wheel of fortune. That though theſe men ſhould be more mindful of the duty they owe to their country,

than of their own particular intereſt, was it to be ſuppoſed, that mercenaries would fight more bravely for the defence of other mens fortunes, than the poſſeſſors would do for themſelves or their own? or that a little money ſhould excite their ignoble minds to a higher pitch of honour than that with which the barons are inſpired, when they fight for the preſervation of their fortunes, wives, and children, religion, and liberty? that moſt men did ſuſpect and apprehend, that this new way of making war, might be not only uſeleſs, but dangerous to the nation; ſince the Engliſh, if they ſhould imitate the example, might, without any great trouble to their people, raiſe far greater ſums for the maintenance of mercenary ſoldiers, than Scotland could, and by this means not only ſpoil and lay open the frontier, but penetrate into the bowels of the kingdom: and that it was in the militia of the barons their anceſtors had placed their chief truſt, for the defence of themſelves againſt a greater power.

By theſe powerful reaſons, being made ſenſible of her error, the queen deſiſted from her demands. Her daughter, queen Mary, who, as the great hiſtorian ſays, looked upon the moderate government of a limited kingdom, to be diſgraceful to monarchs, and upon the ſlavery of the people, as the freedom of kings, reſolved to have guards a-

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bout her perſon; but could not fall upon a way to compaſs them: for ſhe could find no pretext, unleſs it were the empty ſhow of magnificence which belongs to a court, and the example of foreign princes; for the former kings had always truſted themſelves to the faith of the barons. At length, upon a falſe and ridiculous pretence, of an intention in a certain nobleman to ſeize her perſon, ſhe aſſumed them; but they were ſoon aboliſhed. Nor had her ſon, king James, any other guards, whilſt he was king of Scotland only, than forty gentlemen: and that king declares, in the act of parliament, by which they are eſtabliſhed, that he will not burden his people by any tax or impoſition for their maintenance.

Henry the ſeventh, king of England, ſeems to have perceived ſooner, and underſtood better the alteration before-mentioned, than any prince of his time, and obtained ſeveral laws to favour and facilitate it. But his ſucceſſors were altogether improper to ſecond him: for Henry the eighth was an unthinking prince. The reigns of Edward the ſixth, and queen Mary were ſhort: and queen Elizabeth loved her people too well to attempt it. King James, who ſucceeded her, was a ſtranger in England, and of no intereſt abroad. King Charles the firſt did indeed endeavour to make himſelf abſolute, though ſomewhat prepoſterouſ-

ly; for he attempted to ſeize the purſe, before he was maſter of the ſword. But very wiſe men have been of opinion, that if he had been poſſeſſed of as numerous guards as thoſe which were afterwards raiſed, and conſtantly kept up by king Charles the ſecond, he might eaſily have ſucceeded in his enterprize. For we ſee that in thoſe ſtruggles which the country party had with king Charles the ſecond, and in thoſe endeavours they uſed to bring about that revolution which was afterwards compaſſed by a foreign power, the chief and inſuperable difficulty they met with, was from thoſe guards. And though king James the ſecond had provoked theſe nations to the laſt degree, and made his own game as hard as poſſible, not only by invading our civil liberties, but likewiſe by endeavouring to change the eſtabliſhed religion for another which the people abhorred, whereby he loſt their affections, and even thoſe of a great part of his army; yet, notwithſtanding all this miſmanagement, Britain ſtood in need of a foreign force to ſave it; and how dangerous a remedy that is, the hiſtories of all ages can witneſs. It is true, this circumſtance was favourable, that a prince, who had married the next heir to theſe kingdoms, was at the head of our deliverance; yet did it engage us in a long and expenſive war. And now, that we are much impoveriſhed

poverifhed, and England by means of her former riches and prefent poverty, fallen into all the corruptions which thofe great enemies of virtue, want, and excefs of riches, (*c*) can produce; that there are fuch numbers of mercenary forces on foot at home and abroad; that the greateft part of the officers have no other way to fubfift; that they are commanded by a wife and active king, who has at his difpofal the formidable land and fea forces of a neighbouring nation, the great rival of our trade; a king who, by blood, relation, other particular ties, and common intereft, has the houfe of Auftria, moft of the princes of Germany, and potentates of the North, for his friends and allies: who can, whatever intereft he joins with, do what he thinks fit in Europe; I fay, if a mercenary ftanding army be kept up, (the firft of that kind, except thofe of the ufurper Cromwel, and the late king James, that Britain has feen for thirteen hundred years) I defire to know where the fecurity of the Britifh liberties lies, unlefs in the good-will and pleafure of the king: I defire to know, what real fecurity can be had againft ftanding armies of mercenaries, backed by the corruption of both nations, the tendency of the way of living, the genius of the age, and the example of the world.

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and preſent government of Britain, how precarious our liberties are, and how from having the beſt ſecurity for them we are in hazard of having none at all; it is to be hoped, that thoſe who are for a ſtanding army, and loſing no occaſion of advancing and extending the prerogative, from a miſtaken opinion, that they eſtabliſh the ancient government of theſe nations, will ſee what ſort of patriots they are.

But we are told, that only ſtanding mercenary forces can defend Britain from the perpetual ſtanding armies of France. However frivolous this aſſertion be, as indeed no good argument can be brought to ſupport it, either from reaſon or experience, as ſhall be proved hereafter; yet allowing it to be good, what ſecurity can the nations have, that theſe ſtanding forces ſhall not, at ſome time or other, be made uſe of to ſuppreſs the liberties of the people, though not in this king's time, to whom we owe their preſervation? For, I hope, there is no man ſo weak to think, that keeping up the army for a year, or for any longer time than the parliaments of both nations ſhall have engaged the public faith to make good all deficiences of funds granted for their maintenance, is not the keeping them up for ever. It is a pitiful ſhift in the undertakers for a ſtanding army, to ſay, we are not for a ſtanding army; we are only

only for an army from year to year, or till the militia be made uſeful. For Britain cannot be in any hazard from France; at leaſt till that kingdom, ſo much exhauſted by war and perſecution, ſhall have a breathing ſpace to recover. Before that time our militias will be in order; and in the mean time the fleet. Beſides, no prince ever ſurrendered ſo great countries and ſo many ſtrong places, I ſhall not ſay, in order to make a new war; but as theſe men will have it, to continue the ſame. The French king is old and diſeaſed, and was never willing to hazard much by any bold attempt. If he, or the dauphin, upon his deceaſe, may be ſuſpected of any farther deſign, it muſt be upon the Spaniſh monarchy, in caſe of the death of that king. And if it be objected, that we ſhall ſtand in need of an army, in ſuch a conjuncture; I anſwer, that our part in that, or in any other foreign war, will be the beſt managed by ſea, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.

Let us then ſee if mercenary armies be not exactly calculated to enſlave a nation. Which I think may be eaſily proved, if we conſider that ſuch troops are generally compoſed of men who make a trade of war; and having little or no patrimony, or ſpent what they once had, enter into that employment in hopes of its continuance during life, not at all thinking how to make themſelves

ſelves capable of any other. By which means, heavy and perpetual taxes muſt be entailed for ever upon the people for their ſubſiſtence; and ſince all their relations ſtand engaged to ſupport their intereſt, let all men judge, if this will not prove a very united and formidable party in a nation.

But the undertakers muſt pardon me if I tell them, that no well-conſtituted government ever ſuffered any ſuch men in it, whoſe intereſt leads them to imbroil the ſtate in war, and are an uſeleſs and inſupportable burden in time of peace. Venice or Holland are neither of them examples to prove the contrary; for, had not their ſituation been different from that of other countries, their liberty had not continued to this time. And they ſuffer no forces to remain within thoſe inacceſſible places, which are the chief ſeats of their power. Carthage, that had not thoſe advantages of ſituation, and yet uſed mercenary forces, was brought to the brink of ruin by them in a time of peace, beaten in three wars, and at laſt ſubdued by the Romans. If ever any government ſtood in need of ſuch a ſort of men, it was that of ancient Rome, becauſe they were engaged in perpetual war. The argument can never be ſo ſtrong in any other caſe. But the Romans well knowing ſuch men and liberty to be incompatible,

patible, and yet being under a neceſſity of having armies conſtantly on foot, made frequent changes of the men that ſerved in them; who, when they had been ſome time in the army, were permitted to return to their poſſeſſions, trades, or other employments. And to ſhew how true a judgment that wiſe ſtate made of this matter, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that thoſe who ſubverted that government, the greateſt that ever was amongſt men, found themſelves obliged to continue the ſame ſoldiers always in conſtant pay and ſervice.

If, during the late war, we had followed ſo wiſe a courſe as that of Rome, there had been thrice as many trained men in the nations as at preſent there are; no difficulties about recruits, nor debates about keeping up armies in time of peace, becauſe ſome men reſolve to live by arms in time of peace, whether it be for the good of the nations or not. And ſince ſuch was the practice of Rome, I hope no man will have the confidence to ſay, that this methodwas not as effectual for war as any other. If it be objected, that Rome had perpetual wars, and therefore that might be a good practice among them, which would not be ſo with us; I confeſs I cannot ſee the conſequence; for if Rome had perpetual wars, the Romans ought ſtill to have continued the ſame men in their armies, that they might, according to the notion of theſe men,

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render their troops more uſeful. And if we did change our men during a war, we ſhould have more men that would underſtand ſomething of it. If any man ſay, not ſo much as if they continued in the army: I anſwer, that many of thoſe who continue in the army, are afterwards ſwept away by the war, and live not to be of uſe in time of peace; that thoſe who eſcape the war, being fewer than in the other caſe, are ſoon conſumed: and that mercenary ſtanding forces in time of peace, if not employed to do miſchief, ſoon become like thoſe of Holland in 1672, fit only to loſe forty ſtrong places in forty days.

There is another thing which I would not mention if it were not abſolutely neceſſary to my preſent purpoſe; and that is, the uſual manners of thoſe who are engaged in mercenary armies. I ſpeak now of officers in other parts of Europe, and not of thoſe in our armies, allowing them to be the beſt; and if they will have it ſo, quite different from all others. I will not apply to them any part of what I ſhall ſay concerning the reſt. They themſelves beſt know how far any thing of that nature may be applicable to them. I ſay then, moſt princes of Europe having put themſelves upon the foot of keeping up forces, rather numerous than well-entertained, can give but ſmall allowance to officers, and that likewiſe is for the

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moſt part very ill paid, in order to render them the more neceſſitous and depending; and yet they permit them to live in all that extravagancy which mutual example and emulation prompts them to. By which means the officers become inſenſibly engaged in numberleſs frauds, oppreſſions, and cruelties; the colonels againſt the captains, and the captains againſt the inferior ſoldiers; and all of them againſt the perſons with whom they have any kind of buſineſs. So that there is hardly any ſort of men who are leſs men of honour than the officers of mercenary forces; and indeed honour has now no other ſignification amongſt them than courage. Beſides, moſt men that enter into thoſe armies, whether officers or ſoldiers, as if they were obliged to ſhew themſelves new creatures, and perfectly regenerate, if before they were modeſt or ſober, immediately turn themſelves to all manner of debauchery and wickedneſs, committing all kind of injuſtice and barbarity againſt poor and defenceleſs people. Now, though the natural temper of our men be more juſt and honeſt than that of the French, or of any other people, yet, may it not be feared that ſuch bad manners may prove contagious? And if ſuch manners do not fit men to enſlave a nation, devils only muſt do it. On the other hand, if it ſhould happen that the officers of ſtanding armies in Britain ſhould live with greater regularity and

modeſty than was ever yet ſeen in that ſort of men, it might very probably fall out, that being quartered in all parts of the country, ſome of them might be returned members of parliament (*d*) for divers of the electing boroughs; and of what conſequence that would be, I leave all men to judge. So that whatever be the conduct of a mercenary army, we can never be ſecure as long as any ſuch force is kept up in Britain.

But the undertakers for a ſtanding army will ſay; Will you turn ſo many gentlemen to ſtarve, who have faithfully ſerved the government? This queſtion I allow to be founded upon ſome reaſon. For it ought to be acknowledged in juſtice to our ſoldiery, that on all occaſions, and in all actions, both officers and ſoldiers have done their part; and therefore I think it may be reaſonable, that all officers and ſoldiers of above forty years, in conſideration of their unfitneſs to apply themſelves at that age to any other employment, ſhould be recommended to the bounty of both parliaments.

I confeſs I do not ſee by what rules of good policy any mercenary forces have been connived at either in Scotland, England, or Ireland. Sure, it is allowing the diſpenſing power, in the moſt eſſential point of the conſtitution of government in theſe nations.

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Scotland and England are nations that were formerly very jealous of liberty; of which there are many remarkable inſtances in the hiſtories of theſe countries. And we may hope that the late revolution, having given ſuch a blow to arbitrary power in theſe kingdoms, they will be very careful to preſerve their rights and priviledges. And ſure it is not very ſuitable to theſe, that any ſtanding forces be kept up in Britain: or that there ſhould be any Scots, Engliſh, or Iriſh regiments maintained in Ireland, or any where abroad; or regiments of any nation at the charge of England. I ſhall not ſay how readily the regiments that were in the ſervice of Holland came over againſt the duke of Monmouth: he was a rebel, and did not ſucceed. But we all know with what expedition the Iriſh mercenary forces were brought into Britain to oppoſe his preſent majeſty in that glorious enterprize for our deliverance.

The ſubjects formerly had a real ſecurity for their liberty, by having the ſword in their own hands. That ſecurity, which is the greateſt of all others, is loſt; and not only ſo, but the ſword is put into the hand of the king, by his power over the militia. All this is not enough; but we muſt have, in both kingdoms, ſtanding armies of mercenaries, (*e*) who, for the moſt part, have no

other way to ſubſiſt, and conſequently are capable to execute any commands: and yet every man muſt think his liberties as ſafe as ever, under pain of being thought diſaffected to the monarchy. But ſure it muſt not be the ancient limited and legal monarchies of Scotland and England, that theſe gentlemen mean. It muſt be a French faſhion of monarchy, where the king has power to do what he pleaſes, and the people nó ſecurity for any thing they poſſeſs. We have quitted our ancient ſecurity, and put the militia into the power of the king. The only remaining ſecurity we have is, that no ſtanding armies were ever yet allowed in time of peace, the parliament of England having ſo often and expreſsly declared them to be contrary to law: and that of Scotland having not only declared them to be a grievance, but made the keeping them up an article in the forfeiture of the late king James. If a ſtanding army be allowed, what difference will there be between the government we ſhall then live under, and any kind of government under a good prince? Of which there have been ſome in the moſt deſpotic tyrannies. If theſe be limited, and not abſolute monarchies, then, as there are conditions, ſo there ought to be ſecurities on both ſides. The barons never pretended that their militias ſhould be conſtantly on foot, and together

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in bodies in times of peace. It is evident that would have ſubverted the conſtitution, and made every one of them a petty tyrant. And it is as evident, that ſtanding forces are the fitteſt inſtruments to make a tyrant. Whoever is for making the king's power too great or too little, is an enemy to the monarchy. But to give him ſtanding armies, puts his power beyond controul, and conſequently makes him abſolute. If the people had any other real ſecurity for their liberty than that there be no ſtanding armies in time of peace, there might be ſome colour to demand them. But if that only remaining ſecurity be taken away from the people, we have deſtroyed theſe monarchies.

It is pretended, we are in hazard of being invaded by a powerful enemy; ſhall we therefore deſtroy our government? What is it then that we would defend? Is it our perſons, by the ruin of our government? In what then ſhall we be gainers? In ſaving our lives by the loſs of our liberties? If our pleaſures and luxury make us live like brutes, it ſeems we muſt not pretend to reaſon any better than they. I would fain know, if there be any other way of making a prince abſolute, than by allowing him a ſtanding army: if by it all princes have not been made abſolute; if without it, any. Whether our enemies ſhall conquer us, is uncertain; but whether ſtanding

armies will enſlave us, neither reaſon nor experience will ſuffer us to doubt. It is therefore evident, that no pretence of danger from abroad, can be an argument to keep up ſtanding armies, or any mercenary forces.

Let us now conſider whether we may not be able to defend ourſelves, by well-regulated militias, *(f)* againſt any foreign force, though never ſo formidable: that theſe nations may be free from the fears of invaſion from abroad, as well as from the danger of ſlavery at home.

After the barons had loſt the military ſervice of their vaſſals, militias of ſome kind or other were eſtabliſhed in moſt parts of Europe. But the prince having every where the power of naming and preferring the officers of theſe militias, they could be no balance in government as the former were. And he that will conſider what has been ſaid in this diſcourſe, will eaſily perceive that the eſſential quality, requiſite to ſuch a militia as might fully anſwer the ends of the former, muſt be, that the officers ſhould be named and preferred, as well as they and the ſoldiers paid, by the people that ſet them out. So that if princes look upon the preſent militias as not capable of defending a nation againſt foreign armies, the people have little reaſon to entruſt them with the defence of their liberties.

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And though, upon the diſſolution of that ancient militia under the barons, which made theſe nations ſo great and glorious, by ſetting up militias as generally through Europe, the ſword came not into the hands of the commons, which was the only thing could have continued the former balance of government, but was every-where put into the hands of the king: nevertheleſs, ambitious princes, who aimed at abſolute power, thinking they could never uſe it effectually to that end, unleſs it were wielded by mercenaries, and men, that had no other intereſt in the commonwealth than their pay, have ſtill endeavoured by all means to diſcredit militias, and render them burdenſome to the people, by never ſuffering them to be upon any right, or ſo much as tolerable foot, and all to perſuade the neceſſity of ſtanding forces. And indeed they have ſucceeded too well in this deſign: for the greateſt part of the world has been fooled into an opinion, that a militia cannot be made ſerviceable. I ſhall not ſay it was only militias could conquer the world; and that princes to have ſucceeded fully in the deſign before-mentioned, muſt have deſtroyed all the hiſtory and memory of ancient governments, where the accounts of ſo many excellent models of militia are yet extant. I know the prejudice and ignorance of the world concerning the art of war,

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as it was practiſed by the ancients; though what remains of that knowledge in their writings, be ſufficient to give a mean opinion of the modern diſcipline. For this reaſon I ſhall examine, by what has paſſed of late years in theſe nations, whether experience have convinced us, that officers, bred in foreign wars, be ſo far preferable to others who have been under no other diſcipline than that of an ordinary and ill-regulated militia; and if the commonalty of both kingdoms, at their firſt entrance upon ſervice, be not as capable of a reſolute military action, as any ſtanding forces. This doubt will be fully reſolved, by conſidering the actions of the marquis of Montroſe, which may be compared, all circumſtances conſidered, with thoſe of Cæſar, as well for the military ſkill, as the bad tendency of them; though the marquis had never ſerved abroad, nor ſeen any action, before the ſix victories, which, with numbers much inferior to thoſe of his enemies, he obtained in one year; and the moſt conſiderable of them were chiefly gained by the aſſiſtance of the tenants and vaſſals of the family of Gordon. The battle of Naſeby will be a farther illuſtration of this matter, which is generally thought to have been the deciding action of the late civil war. The number of forces was equal on both ſides, nor was there any advantage in the

the ground, or extraordinary accident that happened during the fight, which could be of conſiderable importance to either. In the army of the parliament, nine only of the officers had ſerved abroad, and moſt of the ſoldiers were prentices, drawn out of London but two months before. In the king's army, there were above a thouſand officers that had ſerved in foreign parts: yet was that army routed and broken by thoſe new-raiſed prentices, who were obſerved to be obedient to command, and brave in fight, not only in that action, but on all occaſions during that active campaign. The people of theſe nations are not a daſtardly crew, like thoſe born in miſery, under oppreſſion and ſlavery, who muſt have time to rub off that fear, cowardice, and ſtupidity which they bring from home. And though officers ſeem to ſtand in more need of experience than private ſoldiers; yet in that battle, it was ſeen, that the ſobriety and principle of the officers on one ſide, prevailed over the experience of thoſe on the other.

It is well known, that divers regiments of our army, lately in Flanders, have never been once in action, and not one half of them above thrice, nor any of them five times during the whole war. O, but they have been under diſcipline, and accuſtomed to obey! And ſo may men in militias.

We

We have to do with an enemy, who, though abounding in numbers of excellent officers, yet durſt never fight us without a viſible advantage. Is that enemy like to invade us, when he muſt be unavoidably neceſſitated to put all to hazard in ten days, or ſtarve?

A good militia is of ſuch importance to a nation, that it is the chief part of the conſtitution of any free government. For though, as to other things, the conſtitution be never ſo ſlight, a good militia will always preſerve the public liberty. But in the beſt conſtitution that ever was, as to all other parts of government, if the militia be not upon a right foot, the liberty of that people muſt periſh. The militia of ancient Rome, the beſt that ever was in any government, made her miſtreſs of the world: but ſtanding armies enſlaved that great people, and their excellent militia and freedom periſhed together. The Lacedemonians continued eight hundred years free, and in great honour, becauſe they had a good militia. The Swiſſes at this day are the freeſt, happieſt, and the people of all Europe who can beſt defend themſelves, becauſe they have the beſt militia.

I have ſhewn that liberty, in the monarchical governments of Europe, ſubſiſted ſo long as the militia of the barons was on foot; and that on the decay of their militia, (which, though it was

none

none of the beſt, ſo was it none of the worſt) ſtanding forces and tyranny have been every-where introduced, unleſs in Britain and Ireland; which, by reaſon of their ſituation, having the ſea for frontier, and a powerful fleet to protect them, could afford no pretence for ſuch forces. And though any militia, however ſlightly conſtituted, be ſufficient for that reaſon to defend us, yet, all improvements in the conſtitution of militias, being further ſecurities for the liberty of the people, I think we ought to endeavour the amendment of them, and till that can take place, to make the preſent militias uſeful in the former and ordinary methods.

That the whole free people of any nation ought to be exerciſed to arms, not only the example of our anceſtors, as appears by the acts of parliament made in both kingdoms to that purpoſe, and that of the wiſeſt governments among the ancients; but the advantage of chuſing out of great numbers, ſeems clearly to demonſtrate. For in countries, where huſbandry, trade, manufactures, and other mechanical arts are carried on, even in time of war, the impediments of men are ſo many and ſo various, that unleſs the whole people be exerciſed, no conſiderable numbers of men can be drawn out, without diſturbing thoſe employments, which are the vitals of the politi-

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cal body. Beſides, that upon great defeats, and under extreme calamities, from which no government was ever exempted, every nation ſtands in need of all the people, as the ancients ſometimes did of their ſlaves. And I cannot ſee, why arms ſhould be denied to any man who is not a ſlave, ſince they are the only true badges of liberty; and ought never, but in times of utmoſt neceſſity, to be put into the hands of mercenaries or ſlaves: neither can I underſtand, why any man that has arms, ſhould not be taught the uſe of them.

By the conſtitution of the preſent militia in both nations, there is but a ſmall number of the men able to bear arms exerciſed; and men of quality and eſtate are allowed to ſend any wretched ſervant in their place; ſo that they themſelves are become mean, by being diſuſed to handle arms; and will not learn the uſe of them, becauſe they are aſhamed of their ignorance: by which means, the militias, being compoſed only of ſervants, theſe nations ſeem altogether unfit to defend themſelves, and ſtanding forces to be neceſſary. Now, can it be ſuppoſed, that a few ſervants will fight for the defence of their maſters eſtates, if their maſters only look on? Or, that ſome inconſiderate freeholders, as for the moſt part thoſe who command the militia are, ſhould, at the head of thoſe ſervants, expoſe their lives for men

of

of more plentiful eſtates, without being aſſiſted by them? No bodies of military men can be of any force or value, unleſs many perſons of quality or education be among them; and ſuch men ſhould bluſh to think of excuſing themſelves from ſerving their country, at leaſt for ſome years, in a military capacity, if they conſider that every Roman was obliged to ſpend fifteen years of his life in their armies. Is it not a ſhame that any man who poſſeſſes an eſtate, and is at the ſame time healthful and young, ſhould not fit himſelf by all means for the defence of that, and his country, rather than to pay taxes to maintain a mercenary, who, though he may defend him during a war, will be ſure to inſult and enſlave him in time of peace. Men muſt not think that any country can be in a conſtant poſture of defence, without ſome trouble and charge; but certainly it is better to undergo this, and to preſerve our liberty with honour, than to be ſubjected to heavy taxes, and yet have it inſolently raviſhed from us, to our preſent oppreſſion, and the laſting miſery of our poſterity. But it will be ſaid, Where are the men to be found who ſhall exerciſe all this people in ſo many ſeveral places at once? for the nobility and gentry know nothing of the matter; and to hire ſo many ſoldiers of fortune, as they call them, will be chargeable, and may be dan-

gerous, theſe men being all mercenaries, and always the ſame men, in the ſame truſts; beſides, that the employing ſuch men would not be ſuitable to the deſign of breeding the men of quality and eſtate to command, as well as the others to obey.

To obviate theſe difficulties, and becauſe the want of a good model of militia, and a right method for training people in time of peace, ſo as they need not apprehend any war, though never ſo ſudden, is at this day the bane of the liberty of Europe. I ſhall propoſe one, accommodated to the invincible difficulty of bringing men of quality and eſtate, or men of any rank, who have paſſed the time of youth, to the uſe of arms; and new, becauſe though we have many excellent models of militia, delivered to us by ancient authors, with reſpect to the uſe of them in time of war, yet they give us but little information concerning the methods by which they trained their whole people for war in time of peace; ſo that if the model which I ſhall propoſe, have not the authority of the ancients to recommend it, yet perhaps, by a ſevere diſcipline, and a right method of diſpoſing the minds of men, as well as forming their bodies for military and virtuous actions, it may have ſome reſemblance of their excellent inſtitutions.

What

What I would offer is, that four camps be formed, one in Scotland, and three in England; into which all the young men of the reſpective countries ſhould enter, on the firſt day of the two and twentieth year of their age; and remain there the ſpace of two years, if they be of fortunes ſufficient to maintain themſelves; but if they are not, then to remain a year only, at the expence of the public. In this camp they ſhould be taught the uſe of all ſorts of arms, with the neceſſary evolutions; as alſo wreſtling, leaping, ſwimming, and the like exerciſes. He whoſe condition would permit him to buy and maintain a horſe (*g*) ſhould be obliged ſo to do, and be taught to vault, to ride, and to manage his own horſe. This camp ſhould ſeldom remain above eight days in one place, but remove from heath to heath; not only upon the account of cleanlineſs and health, but to teach the youth to fortify a camp, to march, and to accuſtom them (reſpect being always had to thoſe of a weak conſtitution) to carry as much in their march as ever any Roman ſoldier did; that is to ſay, their tents, proviſion, arms, armour, their utenſils, and the paliſadoes of their camp. They ſhould be taught to forage, and be obliged to uſe the countrymen with all juſtice in their bargains, for that, and all other things they ſtand in need of from them. The food of

every man within the camp ſhould be the ſame; for bread they ſhould have only wheat, which they are to be obliged to grind with hand-mills; they ſhould have ſome ſalt, and a certain number of beeves allowed them at certain times of the year. Their drink ſhould be water, ſometimes tempered with a proportion of brandy, and at other times with vinegar. Their cloaths ſhould be plain, coarſe, and of a faſhion fitted in every thing for the fatigue of a camp. For all theſe things thoſe who could ſhould pay; and thoſe who could not, ſhould be defrayed by the public, as has been ſaid. The camp ſhould be ſometimes divided into two parts, which ſhould remove from each other many miles, and ſhould break up again at the ſame time, in order to meet upon ſome mountainous, marſhy, woody, or, in a word, croſs ground; that not only their diligence, patience, and ſuffering in marches, but their ſkill in ſeizing of grounds, poſting bodies of horſe and foot, and advancing towards each other; their chuſing a camp, and drawing out of it in order to a battle, might be ſeen, as well as what orders of battle they would form upon the variety of different grounds. The perſons of quality or eſtate ſhould likewiſe be inſtructed in fortification, gunnery, and all things belonging to the duty of an ingineer: and forts

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ſhould be ſometimes built by the whole camp, where all the arts of attacking and defending places ſhould be practiſed. The youth, having been taught to read at ſchools, ſhould be obliged to read at ſpare hours ſome excellent hiſtories, but chiefly thoſe in which military actions are beſt deſcribed; with the books that have been beſt written concerning the military art. Speeches exhorting to military and virtuous actions ſhould be often compoſed, and pronounced publicly by ſuch of the youth as were, by education and natural talents, qualified for it. There being none but military men allowed within the camp, and no churchmen (*b*) being of that number, ſuch of the youth as may be fit to exhort the reſt to all chriſtian and moral duties, chiefly to humility, modeſty, charity, and the pardoning of private injuries, ſhould be choſen to do it every ſunday, and the reſt of that day ſpent in reading books, and in converſation directed to the ſame end. And all this under ſo ſevere and rigorous orders, attended with ſo exact an execution by reward and puniſhment, that no officer, within the camp, ſhould have the power of pardoning the one, or withholding the other. The rewards ſhould be all honorary, and contrived to ſuit the nature of the different good qualities and degrees in which any of the youth had ſhewn, either his modeſty, obedience, pati-

ence in ſuffering, temperance, diligence, addreſs, invention, judgement, temper or valour. The puniſhments ſhould be much more rigorous than thoſe inflicted for the ſame crimes by the law of the land. And there ſhould be puniſhments for ſome things, not liable to any by the common law, immodeſt and inſolent words or actions, gaming, and the like. No woman ſhould be ſuffered to come within the camp, and the crimes of abuſing their own bodies any manner of way, puniſhed with death.(*i*) All this things to be judged by their own councils of war; and thoſe councils to have for rule, certain articles drawn up and approved by the reſpective parliaments. The officers and maſters for inſtructing and teaching the youth, in all the exerciſes above-mentioned, ſhould, upon the firſt eſtabliſhment of ſuch a camp, be the moſt expert men in thoſe diſciplines; and brought by encouragements from all places of Europe; due care being taken that they ſhould not infect the youth with foreign manners. But afterwards they ought to conſiſt of ſuch men of quality or fortune as ſhould be choſen for that end, out of thoſe who had formerly paſt two years in the camp, and ſince that time had improved themſelves in the wars; who, upon their return, ſhould be obliged to ſerve two years in that ſtation. As for the numbers of thoſe officers

ficers or maſters; their ſeveral duties; that of the camp-maſter-general, and of the commiſſaries; the times and manner of exerciſe, with divers other particulars of leſs conſideration, and yet neceſſary to be determined, in order to put ſuch a deſign in execution, for brevity's ſake I omit them, as eaſy to be reſolved. But certainly it were no hard matter for men that had paſſed through ſuch a diſcipline as that of the camp I have deſcribed, to retain it after they ſhould return to their ſeveral homes, if the people of every town and village, together with thoſe of the adjacent habitations, were obliged to meet fifty times in the year, on ſuch days as ſhould be found moſt convenient, and exerciſe four hours every time; for all men being inſtructed in what they are to do; and the men of quality and eſtate moſt knowing, and expert of all others, the exerciſe might be performed in great perfection. There might alſo be yearly, in the ſummer time, a camp of ſome thouſands of the neareſt neighbours brought and kept together for a week to do thoſe exerciſes, which cannot be performed in any other place: every man of a certain eſtate being obliged to keep a horſe fit for the war. By this means, it would be eaſy, upon any occaſion, though never ſo ſmall (as for example, the keeping of the peace, and putting the laws in execution

were

where force is neceſſary) or never ſo great and ſudden (as upon account of invaſions and conſpiracies) to bring together ſuch numbers of officers and ſoldiers as the exigence required, according to the practice of antient Rome; which, in this particular, might be imitated by us without difficulty: and if ſuch a method were once eſtabliſhed, there would be no neceſſity of keeping up a militia formed into regiments of foot and horſe in time of peace. Now, if this militia ſhould ſtand in need of any farther improvement, (becauſe no militias ſeem comparable to thoſe exerciſed in actual war, as that of the barons by their conſtant feuds, and that of Rome, and ſome other ancient commonwealths, by their perpetual wars) a certain ſmall number of forces might be employed in any foreign country, (*k*) where there ſhould be action, a fourth part of which might be changed every year; that all thoſe who had in this manner acquired experience, might be diſperſed among the ſeveral regiments of any army, that the defence of theſe countries ſhould at any time call for; which would ſerve to confirm and give aſſurance to the reſt. Such a militia would be of no great expence to theſe nations; for the mean clothing and proviſions for thoſe who could not maintain themſelves, being given only for one year, would amount to little; and no other ex-

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pence would be needful, except for their arms, a ſmall train of artillery for each camp, and what is to be given for the encouragement of the firſt officers and maſters.

A militia, upon ſuch a foot, would have none of the infinite inſuperable difficulties there are, to bring a few men who live at a great diſtance from one another, frequently together to exerciſe; at which conſequently they muſt be from home every time ſeveral days; of finding ſuch a number of maſters, as are neceſſary to train ſo many thouſands of people, ignorant of all exerciſe, in ſo many different places, and for the moſt part at the ſame time; it would have none of thoſe innumerable incumbrances, and unneceſſary expences, with which a militia, formed into regiments of foot and horſe in time of peace is attended. In ſuch a camp, the youth would not only be taught the exerciſe of a muſket, with a few evolutions, which is all that men in ordinary militias pretend to, and is the leaſt part of the duty of a ſoldier; but beſides a great many exerciſes to ſtrengthen and diſpoſe the body for fight, they would learn to fence, to ride, and manage a horſe for the war; to forage, and live in a camp; to fortify, attack, and defend any place; and what is no leſs neceſſary, to undergo the greateſt toils, and to give obedience to the ſevereſt orders. Such a militia,

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by ſending beyond ſeas certain proportions of it, and relieving them from time to time, would enable us to aſſiſt our allies more powerfully than by ſtanding armies we could ever do. Such a camp would take away the great difficulty of bringing men of all conditions, who have paſſed the time of their youth, to apply themſelves to the uſe and exerciſe of arms; and beginning with them early, when, like wax, they may be moulded into any ſhape, would diſpoſe them to place their greateſt honour in the performance of thoſe exerciſes, and inſpire them with the fire of military glory, to which that age is ſo inclined; which impreſſion being made upon their youth, would laſt as long as life. Such a camp would be as great a ſchool of virtue as of military diſcipline, in which the youth would learn to ſtand in need of few things; to be content with that ſmall allowance which nature requires; to ſuffer, as well as to act; to be modeſt, as well as brave; to be as much aſhamed of doing any thing inſolent or injurious, as of turning their back upon an enemy; they would learn to forgive injuries done to themſelves, but to embrace, with joy, the occaſions of dying to revenge thoſe done to their country; and virtue, imbibed in younger years, would caſt a flavour to the utmoſt periods of life. In a word, they would learn greater and better things

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than the military art, and more neceſſary too, if any thing can be more neceſſary than the defence of our country. Such a militia might not only defend a people living in an iſland, but even ſuch as are placed in the midſt of the moſt warlike nations of the world.

Now, till ſuch a militia may be brought to ſome perfection, our preſent militia is not only ſufficient to defend us; but, conſidering the circumſtances of the French affairs, eſpecially with relation to Spain, Britain cannot juſtly apprehend an invaſion, if the fleet of England, to which Scotland furniſhed, during the late war, ſeven or eight thouſand ſeamen, were in ſuch order as it ought to be. And it can never be the intereſt of theſe nations to take any other ſhare in preſerving the balance of Europe, than what may be performed by our fleet. By which means our money will be ſpent amongſt ourſelves; our trade preſerved to ſupport the charge of the navy; our enemies totally driven out of the ſea, and great numbers of their forces diverted from oppoſing the armies of our allies abroad, to the defence of their own coaſts.

If this method had been taken in the late war, I preſume it would have proved, not only more advantageous to us, but alſo more ſerviceable to our allies, than that which was followed. And

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it is in vain to ſay, that at this rate we ſhall have no allies at all; for the weaker party on the continent muſt be contented to accept our aſſiſtance in the manner we think fit to give it, or inevitably periſh. But if we ſend any forces beyond the ſeas, to join thoſe of our allies, they ought to be part of our militia, as has been ſaid, and not ſtanding forces; otherwiſe, at the end of every war, the preſent ſtruggle will recur, and at one time or other theſe nations will be betrayed, and a ſtanding army eſtabliſhed: ſo that nothing can ſave us from following the fate of all the other kingdoms in Europe, but putting our truſt altogether in our fleet and militias, and having no other forces than theſe. The ſea is the only empire which can naturally belong to us. Conqueſt is not our intereſt, (*l*) much leſs to conſume our people and treaſure in conquering for others.

To conclude; if we ſeriouſly conſider the happy condition of theſe nations, who have lived ſo long under the bleſſings of liberty, we cannot but be affected with the moſt tender compaſſion, to think that the Scots, who have, for ſo many ages, with ſuch reſolution, defended their liberty againſt the Picts, Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, Iriſh, Normans, and Engliſh, as well as againſt the violence and tyranny of ſo many of their own princes; that the Engliſh, who, whatever revolutions

their

their country has been ſubject to, have ſtill maintained their rights and liberties againſt all attempts; who poſſeſs a country, every where cultivated and improved by the induſtry of rich huſbandmen; her rivers and harbours filled with ſhips; her cities, towns, and villages enriched with manufactures; where men of vaſt eſtates live in ſecure poſſeſſion of them, and whoſe merchants live in as great ſplendor as the nobility of other nations; that Scotland, which has a gentry born to excel in arts and arms; that England, which has a commonalty, not only ſurpaſſing all thoſe of that degree which the world can now boaſt of, but alſo thoſe of all former ages, in courage, honeſty, good ſenſe, induſtry, and generoſity of temper; in whoſe very looks there are ſuch viſible marks of a free and liberal education; which advantages cannot be imputed to the climate, or to any other cauſe but the freedom of the government under which they live: I ſay, it cannot but make the hearts of all honeſt men bleed, to think that in their days, the felicity and liberties of ſuch countries muſt come to a period, if the parliaments do not prevent it, and his majeſty be not prevailed upon to lay aſide the thoughts of mercenary armies, which, if once eſtabliſhed, will inevitably produce thoſe fatal conſequences that have always attended ſuch forces in the other

kingdoms of Europe; violation of property, decay of trade, oppreſſion of the country by heavy taxes and quarters, the utmoſt miſery and ſlavery of the poorer ſort, the ruin of the nobility by their expences in court and army, deceit and treachery in all ranks of men, occaſioned by want and neceſſity. Then ſhall we ſee the gentry of Scotland, ignorant through want of education, and cowardly by being oppreſſed. Then ſhall we ſee the once happy commonalty of England (*m*) become baſe and abject, by being continually expoſed to the brutal inſolence of the ſoldiers; the women debauched by their luſt; ugly and naſty through poverty and the want of things neceſſary to preſerve their natural beauty. Then ſhall we ſee that great city, the pride and glory, not only of our iſland, but of the world, ſubjected to the exceſſive impoſitions Paris now lies under, and reduced to a pedling trade, ſerving only to foment the luxury of a court. Then will Britain know what obligations ſhe has to thoſe who are for mercenary armies.

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CONVERSATION, &c.

MY LORDS,

YOU desire to know the sentiments of some considerable persons of the English nation, touching our affairs, and the common interest of both kingdoms. And I think I cannot give you more satisfaction in these particulars, than by an account of a conversation I lately had with the Earl of Cromarty, Sir Edward Seymour, and Sir Christopher Musgrave; in which, if the defence I made for you do not give you satisfaction, I shall be glad to hear a better from yourselves. If you ask how I had the fortune to meet with men of sentiments so different from my own, that was partly owing to chance, and partly to the frank and courteous way which is so natural to the Earl of Cromarty. For some days ago, walking slowly and alone in the Mell, the Earl and Sir Christopher overtook me; and though, during the whole

time I was laſt in Scotland, I had not waited on the Earl, he, with a very obliging air, ſaid to me, that if I expected not other company, they would be glad of mine; aſking me, withal; if I was acquaited with Sir Chriſtopher. I ſaid I had formerly the honour of ſome ſmall acquaintance with him, which I ſhould be very willing to renew, and after ſome compliments paſſed on all ſides, finding I was not engaged, he invited me to dine with him, telling me he would give me the opportunity of doing as I deſired; and therefore we ſhould paſs the time together till the hour of dinner. So we preſently went to his lodgings in Whitehall, and entering into a room, from whence we had a full view of the Thames and city of London, You have here, gentlemen, ſaid the Earl, two of the nobleſt objects that can entertain the eye, the fineſt river, and the greateſt city in the world. Where natural things are in the greateſt perfection, they never fail to produce moſt wonderful effects. This moſt gentle and navigable river, with the excellent genius and induſtrious inclination of the Engliſh people, have raiſed this glorious city to ſuch a height, that if all things be rightly conſidered, we ſhall find it very far to ſurpaſs any other. Beſides the beauty and convenience of the river, the ſituation of this city is ſuch, that I am perſuaded,

ſuaded, if the wiſeſt men of the nation had been many years employed to chuſe the moſt advantageous, they could not have found a better: and as the proſperity of a country depends, in a great meaſure, upon the ſituation of the capital city, the good fortune of this nation, in that particular, has chiefly contributed to the great riches and power they now have. My lord, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, you are ſo fully in the right, that notwithſtanding the extent, and particularly the great length of the buildings; yet, ſhould they be removed but one half-mile either eaſt or weſt, ſuch an alteration would be diſadvantageous. For, to the eaſtward, ſome rows of buildings do, in a ſtraight line, croſs the fields, and meet the river again at Blackwall; and to the weſtward, the buildings run along a riſing ground, which overlooks Hyde-park, and the adjacent fields. The whole town lies upon a ſhelving ſituation, deſcending eaſily, and, as it were, in the form of a theatre, towards the ſouth and river, covered from the north, north-eaſt and north-weſt winds: ſo that in very cold and ſtormy weather, by means of the buildings of the city and on the bridge, it is both warm and calm upon the river; which being, as it were, the ſtring to the bow, affords the great conveniency of a cheap and ſpeedy conveyance from one part to the other. The ſhelving ſituation of the city is not

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only moſt fitted to receive the kind influences of the ſun, but to carry off, by common ſhores and other ways, the ſnow and dirt of the ſtreets into the river, which is cleanſed by the tides twice every day. But above all, the ground on which the city ſtands being a gravel, renders the inhabitants healthful, and the adjacent country wholſome and beautiful. The county of Kent furniſhes us with the choiceſt fruit; Hertfordſhire and Cambridgeſhire with corn; Lincolnſhire, Eſſex and Surrey, with beef, veal and mutton; Buckinghamſhire with wood for fuel, and the river with all that the ſeas and the reſt of the world affords. And this in ſo great plenty, that, in times of peace, the common fuel, though brought two hundred miles by ſea, is yet ſold at a reaſonable rate; and in ſo great variety, that we may find more ſorts of wine in London, than in the countries which produce the richeſt and the moſt. In a word, all the uſeful and ſuperfluous things that nature produces, or the wit of man has invented, are to be found here, either made by our artificers, or imported by our merchants. That which is to be admired, ſaid I, is the perfect peace and tranquillity in which the inhabitants live; proceeding, either from their natural temper, or the good order and plenty of the place, and the ſecurity they enjoy from the attempts of any enemy, by

by being ſituated in an iſland. So that this great city, without walls or guards, is as acceſſible at all hours of the night, as the moſt inconſiderable village. But that which charms me moſt, is the liberty and rights they are poſſeſſed of in matters civil and religious. To theſe advantages I might add many things which render this city great, convenient and agreeable; ſuch are, the important tranſactions of a parliament; the judgements in Weſtminſter-hall; the buſineſs of the exchange, navigation and commerce; the affairs and diverſions of the court, together with the recreations and pleaſures of the town. Theſe laſt words have ſpoiled all, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, and unluckily revived in me the image of that corruption of manners which reigns in this place, has infected the whole nation, and muſt at length bring both the city and nation to ruin. And if one may judge by the greatneſs of the corruption, this fatal period is not far off. For no regulations of government are ſufficient to reſtrain or correct the manners of ſo great a number of people, living in one place, and expoſed to ſo many temptations from the bad example they give to another. And the frequency of ill example, which can never fail to be where ſo great numbers live together, authorizes the corruption, and will always be too ſtrong and powerful for any magiſtracy to controul. For

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though every man may have his own ſcheme to reform and regulate theſe diſorders, yet experience has taught us, that no human prudence can preſerve the manners of men living in great cities from extraordinary corruption; and that where great power, riches and numbers of men are brought together, they not only introduce an univerſal depravation of manners, but deſtroy all good government, and bring ruin and deſolation upon a people. What great corruptions do you find in this place, ſo obſtinate and incorrigible, ſaid the Earl? No laws or regulations, replied Sir Chriſtopher, are ſufficient to reſtrain the luxury of women, to baniſh ſo many thouſands of common proſtitutes, (*n*) or to prevent a far greater number of that ſex from being debauched by the innumerable occaſions and opportunities which ſo vaſt a city affords, where, by means of a maſque, a hackney-coach, a tavern and a play-houſe, they are at liberty to do what they pleaſe. Even the poorer ſort of both ſexes are daily tempted to all manner of lewdneſs by infamous ballads, ſung in every corner of the ſtreets. One would think, ſaid the Earl, this laſt were of no great conſequence. I ſaid, I knew a very wiſe man, ſo much of Sir Chriſtopher's ſentiment, that he believed if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who ſhould make the laws of a

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nation. And we ſind, that moſt of the ancient legiſlators thought they could not well reform the manners of any city without the help of a lyric, and ſometimes of a dramatic poet. But in this city, the dramatic poet, no leſs than the ballad-maker, has been almoſt wholly employed to corrupt the people, in which they have had moſt unſpeakable and deplorable ſucceſs. Then Sir Chriſtopher, continuing his diſcourſe, ſaid, in this city gameſters, ſtock-jobbers, jockies and wagerers, make now the moſt conſiderable figure, and in few years have attained to ſuch a degree of perfection in their ſeveral ways, that, in compariſon to many of the nobility, gentry and merchants of England, thoſe in Newgate are mere ignorants, and wretches of no experience. In the ſummer they infeſt all the places of diverſion throughout England, and may be juſtly called the miſſioners of this city. Sure, ſaid the Earl, remedies may be found for many of theſe abuſes. The too expenſive apparel of women might be reſtrained; maſques might be prohibited; vintners forbidden to receive women in their houſes; and all ſtock-jobbing, gaming (*o*) and wagering ſuppreſſed. But who, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, is to do this? for though theſe things might be eaſily done in a ſmall city, yet in this place I am confident that the authority of the queen and parliament would not be found

found ſufficient for ſuch a performance. I am fully perſuaded of her majeſty's ſincere intentions to diſcourage vice; yet ſome wiſe counſellor will not fail to tell her, that it would be of dangerous conſequence to forbid gaming, which conſumes ſo much of the time, and takes up the thoughts of a great number of men, who, if they had not that diverſion, might probably employ their leiſure in thinking too much upon affairs of ſtate. Might not we, ſaid the Earl, play like the Turks, only to paſs the time? No, replied Sir Chriſtopher, you have to do with Chriſtians, who have a Chriſtian liberty to play for money, provided they do not abuſe it; though all men know, that if the thing be allowed, the abuſe is inevitable. And yet this is not the worſt; for the infection of bad manners has ſo thoroughly corrupted this place, that many, even of thoſe who ought, by wholſome laws, to reform others, are themſelves infected by the contagion; ſo that when the country has ſent perſons to repreſent them in parliament, they, in a ſhort time, ſeem rather to be the only repreſentatives of this corrupt city, and artfully betray the nation, under the faireſt pretences to good principles, contrary to their known duty, and the important truſt repoſed in them. I ſaid Sir Chriſtopher's obſervations were very impartial, and that I wiſhed all thoſe, who were guilty,

guilty of ſuch practices, would impartially apply ſo juſt a cenſure to themſelves. Sir Chriſtopher, continuing, ſaid, all abuſes, when introduced among great multitudes, become not only more enormous, but more incorrigible practices, which wholly proceed from the great number of the inhabitants, and vaſt extent of our buildings, where all manner of crimes are eaſily concealed. Beſides, the poor and indigent are ſo numerous in this place, that the ill practices, to which men are tempted by poverty, are but too frequent: and the luxury of all other ranks and orders of men makes every one haſten to grow rich; and conſequently leads them to betray all kind of truſt repoſed in them. In a word, this city abounds with all manner of temptations to evil; extreme poverty, exceſſive riches, great pleaſures, infinite bad examples, eſpecially of unpuniſhed and ſucceſsful crimes. Here Sir Chriſtopher was interrupted by a ſervant, who acquainted us that Sir Edward Seymour was coming up ſtairs. He is welcome, ſaid the Earl; and the more, becauſe he comes ſo early, for I expected him not till the hour of dinner. Upon this Sir Edward Seymour entered the room, and after he had ſaluted the Earl and Sir Chriſtopher, the Earl preſented me, as his countryman and old acquaintance, to Sir Edward; and when we had placed ourſelves in the

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chairs, that I was one of thoſe, who, in the late ſeſſion of the Scots parliament, had oppoſed the intereſt of the court. My lord, ſaid I, does that character recommend me to Sir Edward Seymour? Sir, ſays Sir Edward, it is to me a great recommendation of my lord's good nature, to allow you to wait upon him: but it ſeems you are one who ſignalized yourſelf in the late ſeſſion of your parliament, by framing Utopias and new models of government, under the name of limitations; in which you had the honour to be ſeconded and aſſiſted by ſeveral men of quality, of about two or three and twenty years of age, whoſe long experience, and conſummate prudence in public affairs, could not but produce wonderful ſchemes of government! This rough and ſudden attack made me take the freedom to aſk him, if he thought that men wanted any more than the knowledge and the will to govern themſelves rightly. To which, continuing in his former ſtrain, he anſwered, that young men were always ignorant, confident and of inſupportable arrogance. Yet, ſaid I, do you not think that young men in parliament are much more capable to reſiſt corruption, and oppoſe ill men, than they would be in a court, where, by temptations ariſing from vanity and pleaſure, they are in hazard of being corrupted themſelves? Whereas in parliament meeting with no temptation

tion but bribery, which that age abhors, or the ambition of getting a place by arts they are unacquainted with, the concern and aſſiduity of youth in their firſt applications, is of great moment and highly uſeful, eſpecially in men of quality, whoſe example and early virtue is of the greateſt influence. And if, with theſe qualifications, they have alſo the talent of ſpeaking well, it is not to be imagined how much their pleading for juſtice, with that ſincerity and unaffected eloquence ſo natural to youth, does inflame the minds of men to all kind of virtue. You begin to declaim, as if they overheard you, ſaid the old gentleman; but you muſt not think ſuch ſtuff will have any influence upon me, or that I am ſo credulous to believe that boys of thoſe years can have any right notion of government: an art which demands the longeſt experience and greateſt practice. This kind of dialect I knew to be the uſual way of Sir Edward Seymour, and therefore, without the leaſt ſhew of reſentment, contented myſelf to ſay, that I was indeed of opinion, that to oppoſe the ill deſigns of inveterate knaves, is a work of great difficulty for young men to undertake; and that the common method of all governments now received in the world, to allow almoſt every thing that tends to the corruption of manners, and then to reſtrain thoſe corruptions,

does not only require the longeſt experience and greateſt prudence, but is far beyond the power of both. Yet to ſay that young men cannot underſtand the nature of government, and ſuch regulations as are moſt conducing to the happineſs of mankind, when, at the ſame time, they are thought capable of mathematics, natural philoſophy, the art of reaſoning and metaphyſical ſpeculations, which contain things more difficult to conceive, than any in the art of government, ſeems abſurd. But by the preſent manner of education, the minds of young men are, for many years, debauched from all that duty and buſineſs to which they are born; and in the place of moral and civil knowledge and virtue, addict themſelves to mathematical, natural, and metaphyſical ſpeculations, from which many are never able to withdraw their thoughts. For the intereſt of ſome governments requiring that men ſhould know little of public affairs, the art of government has been looked upon as a kind of knowledge dangerous to be learned, except by thoſe who are advanced in years; and this only ſo far as the experience and practice of thoſe corrupt conſtitutions and ways of living now in uſe among men will allow. Whereas young men have great advantages to find out what is right or amiſs in government, by having never been engaged in the

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ill adminiſtration of affairs, nor habituated to bad cuſtoms and indirect practices, nor biaſſed by ſelfiſh ends, to entertain any other opinion of conſtitutions, laws, and regulations, than what is juſt and right, And as their capacity for more abſtracted ſciences ſhews them ſufficiently capable of underſtanding the art of government; and the innocence of their manners demonſtrates that they are leſs biaſſed in judgment than other men; ſo in zeal and forwardneſs to put things in execution they are undoubtedly ſuperior to all that are more advanced in years. The only difficulty in the education of youth, is to fix their pplication on things uſeful. And do you not think the young men you mentioned very happy, who, inſtead of ſtudying phyſics and metaphyſics, have employed their thoughts in an active way to advance the intereſt and ſervice of their country? Their relations have taken care to marry moſt of them young, in order to prevent the innummerable inconveniences; and if they enter into a good œconomy of their private fortunes, they may certainly acquire greater riches than they can hope to have a venture for at court. And if they deſpiſe the ridiculous vanity of great titles, which is the peculiar folly of this age, of what uſe and ornament may they not be to their friends and country, the care of which has poſſeſſed them ſo early?

It is the experience of ſuch men that will hereafter deſerve to be valued, and not of thoſe who, from their youth, have given themſelves up to diſſimulation and bad arts for worſe ends, and are only ſkilled in the pernicious practices that tend to deſtroy the public liberty. Still declaiming! ſaid he, and the reſult of all is, that there are not two more proper qualities for government, than want of experience, joined to the violent diſpoſition of youth. But, ſaid I, when theſe are corrected by the advice, and controuled by the votes of men of riper years, do you think them ſtill dangerous?

I do.

Would they not be more dangerous, if the old men had only the power of adviſing, and that, for example, in the ſenate of a commonwealth all things were to be determined by the votes of the young men?

Certainly.

Would there not be yet greater danger, if the young men had the diſpoſal of all places and advantages, and that the old men, in order to obtain them, ſhould be obliged to flatter, and give ſuch advice as they knew would pleaſe, and at the ſame time be pernicious to the ſtate?

Who can doubt it?

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Now if the young men, by reaſon of frequent diſputes, heats, and factions among themſelves, ſhould chuſe one of their own number, and inveſt him with an unlimited power, though he were younger by many years then the gentlemen in queſtion: I ſay, if any people ſhould be ſo governed, would you not look upon it as a mad kind of government?

Moſt ſurely.

And yet many nations think they can be no way ſecure under any other ſort of government, than that which often falls into this very inconveniency. You mean, ſaid he, a young prince *(p)* in an abſolute monarchy. Pray, ſaid I, what think you of a young prince in a limited monarchy, not accountable to any? Do you doubt of inſtruments to execute his will, and of the confuſion things may be brought to before redreſs can be obtained? Do you not think ſuch a one equally dangerous to the ſtate as the young men we have mentioned? Ay! but, ſaid the knight, they bring faction into the ſtate. I confeſs, ſaid I, the young prince does not, becauſe he is uncontrouled; ſo far you are right. But pray, Sir, what is it in thoſe young noblemen, or in the proceedings of our parliament in general, that you think deſerves ſo much blame? That they would talk, ſaid he, of ſuch limitations on a ſucceſſor as tend

to take away that dependence which your nation ought to have always upon us, as a much greater and more powerful people. I ſaid we are an independent nation, though very much declined in power and reputation ſince the union of the crowns, by neglecting to make ſuch conditions with our kings, as were neceſſary to preſerve both: that finding, by experience, the prejudice of this omiſſion, we cannot be juſtly blamed for endeavouring to lay hold on the opportunity put into our hands, of enacting ſuch conditions and limitations on a ſucceſſor, upon the expiration of the preſent intail, as may ſecure the honour and ſovereignty of our crown and kingdom, the freedom, frequency, and power of our parliaments together with our religion, liberty, and trade, from either Engliſh or foreign influence. Sir Edward all in a fret; hay day, ſaid he, here is a fine cant indeed, independent nation! honour of our crown! and what not? Do you conſider what proportion you bear to England? not one to forty in rents of land. Beſides, our greateſt riches ariſe from trade and manufactures, which you want: This was allowed by me: but I deſired to inform him, that the trade of Scotland was conſiderable before the union of the crowns: that as the increaſe of the Engliſh trade had raiſed the value of their lands, ſo the loſs of our trade had

had ſunk the rents in Scotland, impoveriſhed the tenant, and diſabled him, in moſt places, from paying his landlord any other ways than in corn; which practice has been attended with innumerable inconveniencies and great loſs: that our trade was formerly in ſo flouriſhing a condition, that the ſhire of Fife alone had as many ſhips as now belong to the whole kingdom: that ten or twelve towns, which lie on the ſouth coaſt of that province, had, at that time, a very conſiderable trade, and in our days are little better than ſo many heaps of ruins: that our trade with France was very advantageous, by reaſon of the great priviledges we enjoyed in that kingdom: that our commerce with Spain had been very conſiderable, and degan during the wars between England and that nation; and that we drove a great trade in the Baltic with our fiſh, before the Dutch had wholly poſſeſſed themſelves of that advantageous traffic. Upon the union of the crowns not only all this went to decay, but our money was ſpent in England, and not among ourſelves; the furniture of our houſes, and the beſt of our clothes and equipage, was bought at London: and though particular perſons of the Scots nation had many great and profitable places at court, to the high diſpleaſure of the Engliſh, yet that was no advantage to our country, which was totally neglected,

glected, like a farm managed by ſervants, and not under the eye of the maſter. The great buſineſs both of Scots and Engliſh miniſters was, to extend the prerogative in Scotland, to the ruin of liberty, property, and trade: and the diſorders, which were afterwards occaſioned by the civil war, gave the laſt and finiſhing blow to the riches and power of the nation. Since that time we have had neither ſpirit, nor liberty, nor trade, nor money amongſt us. And though, during the time of the uſurper Cromwell, we imagined ourſelves to be in a tolerable condition which reſpect to this laſt particular, by reaſon of that expence which was made in the nation by thoſe forces that kept us in ſubjection; yet this was a deceitful ſubſtance, not unlike a plumpneſs in the natural body proceeding from a diſeaſe. The buſineſs of a Scots miniſter is to get as much money as he can from our impoveriſhed country, whilſt he is in employment, well knowing that all regulations that may be eſtabliſhed in order to enrich the nation, either by trade, manufactures, or huſbandry, will require time before they can produce any conſiderable effect, and on that account will be of little advantage to him during his adminiſtration. I take all this freedom, ſaid I, before the Earl of Cromarty, though he be a Scots miniſter of ſtate, becauſe it is well known, avarice

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is none of his faults, and that no perſon in our government is more ready to promote any new and ſolid project of improvement. I am obliged for the good character you give me, ſaid the Earl; but very ſorry I can promote none of your projects: they are, I fear too great for our nation, and ſeem rather contrived to take place in a Platonic commonwealth, than in the preſent corruption of things. My lord, ſaid I, no man is more ſenſible how little is to be done in this age: but I think it the greateſt of all follies to offer an expedient, which obtained will not anſwer the end, and to labour and toil for that which will not avail: ſuch meaſures proceed in part from our ignorance of the ill condition we are in, and the means of recovery; but principally from a meaneſs of ſpirit, which hinders us always from applying the true remedies, if they are attended with the leaſt appearance of difficulty or danger. And nothing does ſo much point out the want of ſenſe and courage in particular men, or the degeneracy of an age and nation, than to content themſelves to proſecute any conſiderable end by ineffectual and diſproportionate means. Now, the ill condition of Scotland, proceeding from theſe cauſes; that our money is carried away and ſpent at court, by thoſe who attend there for places and penſions; that by the influence of

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Engliſh miniſters upon our government, we are brought wholly to depend on that court; that by reaſon of the prince's abſence, the laws are not put in execution: I ſay, theſe being the cauſes of our preſent ill condition, what other remedies can be found, than that the parliament of Scotland ſhould for the time to come, beſtow all penſions and offices, both civil and military; that our parliaments ſhould be annual, and not interrupted in their ſeſſions, and have power to appoint committees for the adminiſtration of the government during the intervals of ſitting? If theſe things are granted, ſaid the Earl; I would know what power or authority is left to the prince As great power, ſaid I, as princes formerly enjoyed in moſt of the limited monarchies of Europe; their parliaments or diets were fixed, and at leaſt annual: the chief officers of the crown, and the counſellors of the prince, were named by the ſtates of moſt kingdoms; but the executive power of the government, and the command of armies, were veſted in the prince, together with the perogative of giving authority to the laws and currency to the coin, and a ſuperiority in dignity and revenue, ſuitable to ſo high a ſtation. But, ſaid the Earl, you diminiſh his power of adminiſtration, not only by refuſing him the nomination of great officers, but even the inferior; you

you incroach upon his power as general, by taking from him the nomination of military officers; and you leſſon the grandeur of his court, by refuſing him the diſtribution of penſions. To this charge I made anſwer, that if princes might not appoint the principal officers of the crown, nor their own counſellors, the nomination of inferior officers ſeems to be below their care and dignity; that ſtanding forces being pernicious to all governments, and national militias only ſafe and uſeful, it is but reaſonable the people ſhould have the choice of thoſe who are to command them; that his lordſhip could not forget, that the limitations in queſtion were demanded for a kingdom, where the prince does not auctually reſide, as a remedy againſt the influence of a powerful court, on which otherwiſe we ſhould be neceſſitated always to depend. And I think for a nation in theſe circumſtances to have the power of conferring penſions, can no way leſſen the grandeur of a court, where no court is. The Earl ſaid, that no conſiderations whatever ought, in ſuch a degree, to dimiſh the prince's power, which is the very eſſence of monarchial government; that no caſe could exiſt by which the effential part of any government could be ſo far leſſened; and therefore ſuch circumſtances of affairs, as I brought for reaſons, being only accidents, could not be made uſe of to deſtroy the

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ſubſtance of a government. I told him that I had always thought that princes were made for the good government of nations, and not the government of nations framed for the private advantage of princes. Right, ſaid he, but then you muſt accommodate all monarchical government to the nature of princes, elſe you will make a heterogeneous body of the prince and ſtate. I underſtand you not, ſaid I, unleſs you mean, that all limitations are contrary to the nature of princes, (*q*) and that they will endure them no longer than neceſſity forces. And what hopes, ſaid Sir Edward Seymour, can you have of enjoying them long, when your prince may be aſſiſted by the power and riches of a far greater nation, which is highly concerned to take them away? I cannot think, replied I, that the people of England are obliged by their intereſt to oppoſe theſe limitations in Scotland, unleſs they think themſelves concerned in intereſt to make us at all times their ſecret enemies, and ready to embrace every opportunity of declaring ourſelves openly for ſuch. For ſince we are not only become ſenſible of our preſent ill condition, but fully underſtand both the cauſes and the remedy; to oppoſe us in the proſecution of thoſe means which are abſolutely neceſſary to attain ſo juſt an end, would be no leſs than to declare open enmity againſt us. We

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ſhall run a great riſk indeed, ſaid Sir Edward, in ſo doing! Sir, ſaid I, no man is more fully perſuaded then I am, of the great diſproportion there is between the power of the one and the other nation, eſpecially in the preſent way of making war. But you ſhould conſider, that by declaring yourſelves in ſuch a manner to be our enemies, you would drive us to the neceſſity of taking any power, that will aſſiſt us by the hand. And you can no way avoid ſo great danger, but by doing juſtice to yourſelves and us, in not oppoſing any conditions we may make with the ſucceſſor to our crown. The Earl of Cromarty ſaid, that in his opinion there was an eaſy remedy to all theſe inconveniences, which was, an union of the two nations. I anſwered, I was ſorry to differ ſo much from his lordſhip, as to think the union neither a thing eaſy to be effected, nor any project of that kind hitherto propoſed, to be a remedy to our preſent bad condition; that the Engliſh nation had never, ſince the union of the two crowns, ſhewn any great inclination to come to a nearer coalition with Scotland; and that I could not avoid making ſome remarks upon all the occaſions that had given riſe to treat of this matter during my time. I have obſerved, that a treaty of union has never been mentioned by the Engliſh, but with a deſign to amuſe us, when they ap-

prehended any danger from our nation. And when their apprehenſions were blown over, they have always ſhewn they had no ſuch intention. In 1669, endeavours were uſed in Scotland to eſtabliſh a good militia; which, on account of a clauſe, procured by the duke of Lauderdale to be inſerted in the act, in order to make his court, ſo alarmed the Engliſh nation, that in the following year a treaty of union was propoſed. But ſo ſoon as they perceived that our militia was ordered in ſuch a manner, as neither to be laſting nor formidable, they preſently cooled, and the union vaniſhed. Upon the late revolution, this treaty was again propoſed; but when they ſaw, we had choſen the ſame perſon for our king, and made the ſame intail of our crown they had done, the union, as a thing of no farther uſe to their affairs, was immediately dropped. For the ſame reaſons, I ſuppoſe, the late treaty was ſet on foot; and after they had nominated a ſucceſſor, without aſking our opinion or concurrence, they thought this the only way to amuſe us, and oblige us to take the ſame perſon. Now, as I have ſhewn how little the Engliſh nation has been really inclined to the union; ſo I muſt acknowledge, that the Scots, however fond they have formerly been of ſuch a coalition, are now become much leſs concerned for the ſucceſs of it, from a juſt ſenſe they have

have that it would not only prove no remedy for our preſent ill cōndition, but increaſe the poverty of our country. (*r*)

How, I pray, ſaid the Earl?

I am of opinion, ſaid I, that by an incorporating union, as they call it, of the two nations, Scotland will become more poor than ever.

Why ſo?

Becauſe Scotſmen will then ſpend in England ten times more than now they do; which will ſoon exhauſt the money of the nation. For beſides the ſums that members of parliament will every winter carry to London, all our countrymen, who have plentiful eſtates, will conſtantly reſide there, no leſs than thoſe of Ireland do at this time. No Scotſman, who expects any public employment, will ever ſet his foot in Scotland; and every man, that makes his fortune in England, will purchaſe lands in that kingdom; our trade, which is the bait that covers the hook, will be only an inconſiderable retail, in a poor, remote, and barren country, where the richeſt of our nobility and gentry will no longer reſide; and though we ſhould allow all the viſionary ſuppoſitions of thoſe who are ſo fond of this union, yet our trade cannot poſſibly increaſe on a ſudden. Whereas the expences I mentioned, will, in a ve-

ry ſhort time, exhauſt us, and leave no ſtock for any kind of commerce. But, ſaid the Earl, you do not diſtinguiſh right, nor conſider where the fallacy of your reaſoning lies. You talk of Scotland and Scots money, and do not reflect, that we ſhall then be a part of Britain; England will be increaſed by the acceſſion of Scotland, and both thoſe names loſt in that of Britain; ſo that you are to conſider the good of that whole body, of which you then become a citizen, and will be much happier than you was, by being in all reſpects qualified to pretend to any office or employment in Britain, and may trade or purchaſe in any part of the iſland. But, by your leave, my lord, let me diſtinguiſh plainly, and tell you, that if I make a bargain for the people that inhabit the northern part of this iſland, I ought principally to conſider the intereſt of thoſe who ſhall continue to live in that place, that they may find their account in the agreement, and be better provided for than they are. For if the advantages of getting employments, trading and purchaſing in any part of the iſland, are the only things to be conſidered, all theſe may be as well obtained by any one, who would change his country in the preſent ſtate of things. And if, in the union of ſeveral countries under one government, the proſperity and happineſs of the different nations are not conſidered,

ſidered, as well as of the whole united body, thoſe that are more remote from the ſeat of the government will be only made ſubſervient to the intereſt of others, and their condition very miſerable. On the other hand, beſides our fiſhery, which God and nature has given us, together with the great priviledges already granted to our African company, a diſtinct ſovereignty does always enable a people to retain ſome riches, and leaves them without excuſe if they do not riſe to conſiderable wealth. So that if a ſufficient proviſion be made to prevent the exhauſting of our money, by the attendance of Scotſmen at court, and to take away the influence of Engliſh miniſters upon our affairs, no condition of men will be more happy. For we ſhall then be poſſeſſed of liberty, ſhall adminiſter our own affairs, and be free from the corruptions of a court; we ſhall have the certain and conſtant alliance of a powerful nation, of the ſame language, religion, and government, lying between us and all enemies both by ſea and land, and obliged in intereſt to keep perpetual peace and amity with us. And this you cannot but allow to be a much happier condition than any we ever could propoſe to ourſelves by all the projects of union, that have hitherto been form:d. Here the Earl endeavoured, by many arguments, to ſhew, that our coun-

try would be the place, where all manufactures as well for the uſe of the whole iſland, as for exportation, would be made, by reaſon of the cheapneſs of living, and the many hands that Scotland could furniſh. I ſaid, the contrary was not only moſt evident, but that the union would certainly deſtroy even thoſe manufactures we now have. For example, the Engliſh are able to furniſh us, at an eaſier rate, with better cloth than we make in Scotland; and it is not to be ſuppoſed, they will deſtroy their own eſtabliſhed manufactures to encourage ours. Corn, and all manner of proviſions are cheaper and more plentiful in the ſix northern counties, than in Scotland. The number of our people was never ſo great as commonly imagined, and is now very much diminiſhed by the late famine; by extraordinary levies of ſoldiers; and chiefly by ill government, which having given no encouragement to induſtry of any kind, has neceſſitated great numbers of men to abandon the country, and ſettle themſelves in other nations, eſpecially in Ireland. Beſides, the natural pride of our commonalty, and their indiſpoſition to labour, (*s*) are inſuperable difficulties, which the Engliſh have not to contend with in their people. But ſure you will allow, ſaid the Earl, that a free commerce with England, and the liberty of trading to their plantations, which cannot be expected without an union, muſt be of incomparable ad-

advantage to the Scots nation, unleſs you will diſown one of your darling clauſes in the act of ſecurity. My lord, ſaid I, the clauſe you mean, is placed there without the condition of an union; and your lordſhip cannot forget, was brought in by the court, as an equivalent for all limitations, and in order to throw out another clauſe, which declares that we would not nominate the ſame ſucceſſor with England, unleſs ſufficient limitations were firſt enacted. This was done to miſlead the commiſſioners of boroughs, who, for the moſt part, are for any thing that bears the name of trade, though but a ſham, as this was. And nothing could be more juſt than to turn it upon the court, by adding both clauſes, which ſunk your party in the houſe for a long time after. For my own part, I cannot ſee what advantage a free trade to the Engliſh plantations would bring us, except a farther exhauſting of our people, and the utter ruin of all our merchants, who ſhould vainly pretend to carry that trade from the Engliſh. The Earl, who knew the truth of theſe things, was unwilling to inſiſt any longer upon this ungrateful ſubject; and therefore, proceeding to another argument, ſaid, that when we ſhall be united to England, trade and riches will circulate to the utmoſt part of the iſland; and that I could not be ignorant of the wealth, which the remoteſt corners of the north and weſt of England

land poſſeſs. I anſwered, that the riches of thoſe parts proceed from accidental cauſes. The lead and coal mines, which employ ſo much ſhipping, enrich the north. The weſtern parts of England, beſides mines of tin and lead, have many excellent harbours lying in the mouth of the channel, through which the greateſt trade of the world is continually paſſing. I deſired him to conſider, that Wales, the only country that ever had united with England, lying at a leſs diſtance from London, and conſequently, more commodiouſly to participate in the circulation of a great trade than we do, after three or four hundred years, is ſtill the only place of that kingdom, which has no conſiderable commerce, though poſſeſſed of one of the beſt ports in the whole iſland; a ſufficient demonſtration that trade is not a neceſſary conſequence of an union with England. I added, that trade is now become the golden ball for which all nations of the world are contending, and the occaſion of ſo great partialities, that not only every nation is endeavouring to poſſeſs the trade of the whole world, but every city to draw all to itſelf; and that the Engliſh are no leſs guilty of theſe partialities than any other trading nation. At theſe words Sir Chriſtopher was pleaſed to aſk me, what were thoſe partialities in point of trade, of which the Engliſh were guilty, and towards what nations: that for his part, he accounted them the

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frankeſt dealers, and the juſteſt traders of the world. I ſaid, I would not inſiſt upon the ill uſage of the Scots nation in their late attempt to ſettle in Darien, nor enquire how far the late erected council of trade, did, in that affair, ſecond the partialities of a court, engaged in myſterious intereſts with France; but deſired to know his opinion of the uſage their own colony in Ireland had received from them, and that he would excuſe me, if I ſhould let fall any expreſſion about that matter which might ſeem hard; becauſe, in caſe he could give me ſatisfaction in this particular, I ſhould very much incline to an incorporating union of the two nations. He anſwered, that he was very indifferent what courſe the Scots ſhould take, in the matter of an union, yet would not refuſe to argue the point with me; and as to my queſtion concerning Ireland, he ſaid, he was of opinion, that a good meaſure of ſtrictneſs, and ſeverity is abſolutely neceſſary, to keep them from the thoughts of ſetting up for themſelves, and pretending to depend no longer upon England. I ſaid, that ſome late writers had undertaken to prove, by authentic records, that the relation of that country to England, was founded rather upon a very ſtrict union than a conqueſt. But certainly, though the native Iriſh were conquered, your own colony was not; which yet you favoured no long-

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er than till you ſaw them begin to flouriſh and grow rich. And to ſhew what we are to expect, if ever we begin to thrive, though never ſo long after our union, I ſhall give ſome inſtances of your conduct towards Ireland in relation to trade. A law was made, that no tobacco ſhould be planted either in England or Ireland; and another, that no perſon, except of England or Ireland, might trade to the Engliſh plantations. Yet in the time of king Charles the ſecond, great hardſhips and impediments were laid upon all thoſe who ſhould trade from Ireland, to the Engliſh plantations, though they were ſtill obliged to obſerve the law againſt planting tobacco in Ireland. And till the time of the late king, no law was made in England for encouraging the woollen manufacture, but the like encouragements were given to the people of Ireland. Yet during that reign, a law was made, which prohibits the exportation of all woollen manufactures from Ireland to foreign parts, and lays ſo high a duty upon all that ſhall be imported from thence into England, as amounts to a prohibition. I forbear to mention any other hardſhips, put upon thoſe in that country, and chiefly the Scots who are ſettled in the northern parts, though that colony ſtill increaſes, to our loſs, and your advantage. You ſpeak of a conquered nation, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, who have

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no ſovereign rights belonging to them. I ſpeak of a nation, ſaid I, who affirm you have no ſhadow of right to make laws for them; that the power which the king's council has aſſumed was gotten by ſurprize; and that their firſt ſubmiſſion was founded on a treaty of union, which now, on account of ſome rebellions ſuppreſſed, is called a conqueſt. But ſure, as I ſaid before, you never conquered your own colony, and therefore ought to do them juſtice. Now, if after an union with us, the leaſt commotion ſhould happen in Scotland, ſuppoſe on account of church government, might we not expect, that the ſuppreſſion of this would likewiſe be called a conqueſt, and we or our poſterity be treated as a conquered people? But, can there be a more certain indication of what we may expect in point of trade from an union, than the uſage of the poſt-nati, who ſettled in England, and the plantations, upon the faith of rights, declared and ratified by both houſes of parliament, confirmed by the deciſions of all your courts, and affirmed by the Lord chief Juſtice Coke, in the moſt hyperbolical terms, to be according to common and all law, which yet have been wholly violated and taken away, even to the prejudice of the Engliſh nation, by the loſs of ſuch a number of people? Theſe things ſeem indiſpenſably to require a guarantee, when the two parliaments come to be united

ed, where we may poſſibly have fifty votes to five hundred, in a houſe, already abounding ſo much in partialities, that the members, who ſerve for one part of the kingdom, are frequently found in oppoſition to the repreſentatives of another, for the ſake only of the particular intereſt of their own countries: Indeed, replied Sir Chriſtopher, if your diffidence be ſo great, there can be no union. Sir ſaid I, if the matters of fact I mention are true, as I think they are undeniable, I am contented to make you judge of what we may expect, from the nature of the thing, and genius of your people. In the firſt place, what ſecurity can a leſſer nation, which unites to a greater have, that all the conditions of union ſhall be duly obſerved, unleſs a third be admited for guarantee of the agreement? And, I ſuppoſe, you would rather chuſe to hear no more of an union, than that Holland or France ſhould be the guarantees. True, ſaid he; but guarantees are only proper in treaties of peace between nations not united: unions of nations, eſpecially incorporating unions, of which we are ſpeaking, ſuppoſe no breach of conditions; and we do not find that the nations which were ſo united to the republic of Rome, had any guarantees for their ſecurity. Sir, ſaid I, the union of thoſe nations, and their admiſſion to the rights and priviledges of

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the city of Rome; could have no guarantees, becauſe they were noble conditions, given by that wiſe and generous ſtate, to nations they had conquered, and had in their power to uſe as they pleaſed: and if Ireland be yours by conqueſt, why do you not uſe them as well? It will certainly be our intereſt, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, to obſerve the conditions on which we unite with Scotland. Do you think, replied I, that you always follow your intereſt? I muſt acknowledge, ſaid he, not always. Then, ſaid I, if at any time you ſhould depart from your true intereſt in this matter, we ſhall want a guarantee and find none. On the other hand, if the temper, conduct, and inclinations of your people be conſidered, it will appear, that except the union with Wales, which is ſtill attended with great imperfections and inconveniences, they have never ſhewn the leaſt diſpoſition to unite with any other nation, though ſuch as either ſtood upon equal terms with them, or ſuch as they conquered, or even planted. How your colonies in America are treated, is well known to all men. You never could unite with Normandy, which had conquered you, nor with any part of France that you had conquered. But your oppreſſions in both, were the principal cauſe of your expulſion from thoſe countries. You could not unite with the ſtates of Holland, when England

was likewiſe a republic. And ſince the time of the late revolution, which was effected by the aſſiſtance of the ſtates, and ſaved theſe nations from utter ruin, you can hardly endure the name of a Dutchman; and have treated them on all occaſions with ſuch ſcurrilous expreſſions (*t*) as are peculiar to the generality of your people. And if I ſhould but touch upon the uſage we continually meet with from this nation, I ſhould not be believed, if all Europe were not ſufficiently informed of their hatred to all ſtrangers, and inveterate malice againſt the Scots. I know very well, that men of gravity and good breeding among you, are not guilty of ſcurrilous reflections on any nation. But, when we are to conſider the caſe in queſtion, we muſt have a juſt regard to the temper and general diſpoſition of the people. At theſe words, Sir Edward, all in a flame, cries out, what a pother is here about an union with Scotland, of which all the advantage we ſhall have, will be no more than what a man gets by marrying a beggar, a louſe for her portion? Upon this I turned to the Earl and Sir Chriſtopher, and ſaid, that if Sir Edward had ſpoken theſe words in the houſe of commons, I might not take notice of them, or queſtion his freedom of ſpeech in that place; but ſince he is pleaſed to expreſs himſelf after this manner in a private converſation, I ſhall likewiſe

likewiſe take the liberty to ſay, that I wonder he is not afraid ſuch language ſhould make us ſuſpect him not to be deſcended of the noble family whoſe name he bears. Sir Edward, going on with great paſſion, what account, ſaid he, ſhould we make of Scotland, ſo often trampled under foot by our armies? Did not protector Seymour, at the battle of Muſſelburgh, give you ſuch a rout as deſtroyed the beſt part of your nobility and gentry? And of late years, did not the very ſcum of our nation conquer you? Yes, ſaid I, after they had, with our aſſiſtance, conquered the king, and the nobility and gentry of England; and yet, that which you call a conqueſt, was a diſpute between parties, and not a national quarrel. It was, ſaid he, inſeparable from the fortune of our Edwards to triumph over your nation. Do you mean Edward of Carnarvan, ſaid I, and his victory at Bannockburn? No, replied he, I mean Edward the firſt and third, whoſe heroic actions no princes have ever equalled. Sure, ſaid I, you do not mean the honour of the firſt, or the humanity of the third, ſo ſignally manifeſted at Berwick; nor the murder of Wallace by the firſt Edward, or the poiſoning of Randolph, earl of Murray, by the third, after they had both refuſed to give battle to thoſe heroes. Sir Chriſtopher, whoſe temper and gravity could not bear to this upbraiding each other

with old ſtories, interrupted theſe ſallies, and deſired I would farther explain myſelf, touching an union between England and Ireland. The better conditions you give them, ſaid I, the greater wiſdom you will ſhew. But you do not conſider, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, that Ireland lies more commodiouſly ſituated for trade, and has better harbours than England; and, if they had the ſame freedom and priviledges, might carry the trade from us. Ay, ſaid I, there it is: trade is the conſtant ſtumbling-block, and ball of contention. But do you think, that if Ireland, by a juſt and equal union with England, ſhould encreaſe in riches, ſuch an increaſe would prove ſo prejudicial to England, where the ſeat of the government is?

Certainly.

Then, ſaid I, it were better to exclude Ireland wholly from trade; for in that caſe, the trade of England would increaſe by ſo much as Ireland now poſſeſſes; and the power and riches of England, confined at home, would be no longer in danger of paſſing into any other nation.

I believe you may be in the right.

You will certainly find me to be ſo, ſaid I, if, in order to manage this new acceſſion of trade, all the people of Ireland ſhould be brought over to

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England; for in this caſe the value of England would increaſe much more than can be expected to accrue from Ireland in the preſent circumſtances of things, that country being frequently not only unprofitable, but burdenſome to England.

I agree with you.

But, ſaid I, if Ireland ſhould be left without inhabitants, I fear the French king would take hold of the occaſion, and poſſeſs himſelf of the whole country. That would only weaken him, ſaid he, who, graſping at the poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, has no number of people to ſpare. But, ſaid I, a port in the province of Munſter, ſo near the entry of the channel, and over-againſt Breſt, might be of uſe to him, require no great number of men to maintain, and be of the moſt dangerous conſequence to us. So that, for argument ſake, we muſt ſuppoſe Ireland ſunk in the ſea; and then you will ceaſe to fear, either that they may ſet up for themſelves, or carry away the trade from England. And being poſſeſſed of all their people and riches, you will be no longer liable to the expence of defending that kingdom. From theſe ſuppoſitions, ſaid he, the conſequence is juſt. Do you not think, continued I, that for the ſame reaſons it might be the intereſt of England to bring the people of the ſix northern counties into the ſouth, provided that country could alſo be ſunk? For

trade will certainly increaſe, and be more eaſily managed, when brought within a leſs compaſs. Beſides, you would then have ſo broad a ditch to ſecure you againſt the Scots, that you would be rid of any trouble from them alſo. He could not but acknowledge the parity of reaſon, and ſaid, that if nature had made ſuch a ditch from the begining, the happineſs of England had been complete. I added, that Wales being a country inconſiderable either for ſoil or commerce, that people might be much more advantageouſly employed in trading here, than in keeping goats at home; and your union with them become much ſtricter, by bringing them nearer London; and, then I think that country might likewiſe be ſunk with advantage. Though you banter, ſaid he, yet the conſequence will undeniably follow from your ſuppoſitions. And do you not think, ſaid I, the ſame arguments would prove, that all the conſiderable trade of the world might be brought into one city, and all mankind to live within and about that place?

Perhaps.

For what end then, ſaid I, did God create ſuch vaſt tracts of land, capable of producing ſo great variety and abundance of all things neceſſary and uſeful to men? In order, I ſuppoſe, that theſe countries might not be inhabited, and that man-

mankind might confine themſelves to iſlands, ſtrait, barren, and unwholeſome ſituations, and live upon trade. Can there be a greater diſorder in human affairs? Beſides, we know that ſuch numbers of men did not meet together in moraſſes, and other inconvenient places, out of choice; but were forced and driven by the violence of tyranny, to ſhelter themſelves in difficult and inacceſſible ſituations, as is plain by the examples of Holland, Venice, Tyre, and other cities; and, when they were come together, they were neceſſitated, in order to ſubſiſt, to apply themſelves to manufacture, navigation, and the like arts. But, if the governments of the world were well-regulated, and men might have the liberty of chuſing, they would not be confined to ſuch narrow, barren, and unwholeſome places, nor live ſo much at ſea, or in the exerciſe of a ſedentary and unmanly trade, to foment the luxury of a few; but would diſperſe themſelves over the world in greater or leſſer numbers, according to the goodneſs of the ſoil, and live in a more free and manly way, attended with a more equal diſtribution of riches, than trade and commerce will allow. Trade is not the only thing to be conſidered in the government of nations; and juſtice is due, even in point of trade, from one nation to another. For every good government has always encouraged induſtry, becauſe

becauſe all mankind have a right to the fruits of their own labour. And on that account, all governments which put diſcouragements on the induſtry of their ſubjects, are not upon a right foot; but violent, and conſequently unjuſt. Soft and fair, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, the conſequences of theſe maxims reach farther than perhaps you imagine. We muſt not rely too much upon our own ſpeculations, or think the world can ever be rightly governed; but muſt take things as they are, and conſider the intereſt of the ſociety in which we live. And if any profitable trade be in the poſſeſſion of our neighbours, we may endeavour to diſpoſſeſs them of that advantage for the good of our own ſociety. Though this ſhould be granted, ſaid I, yet you ought not to deny to a people, who, like Ireland, live under your government, the fruits of their induſtry. This ſure is great injuſtice.

Not at all, ſaid he; for as I told you, they may break with us, and ſet up a diſtinct government, in oppoſition to our right, and perhaps with the ruin of this nation. What can tempt and provoke them ſo much, ſaid I, to do ſo, as unjuſt uſage? But the ſureſt way, replied he, is, to put it out of their power to ſeperate from us. If ſo, ſaid I, you muſt own your way of governing that people to be an oppreſſion; ſince your

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deſign is to keep them low and weak, and not to encourage either virtue or induſtry. For the light of nature teaches, that men ought not to uſe one another unjuſtly on any account, much leſs under the ſpecious pretext of government. But we have a right, anſwered he, to uſe them at diſcretion, becauſe we have conquered them.

Then you have a right to do injuſtice.

It is not injuſtice, ſaid he, becauſe it is our right. And you do not conſider, that things juſt in themſelves, are not always ſo in relation to government; that the condition of human affairs neceſſarily obliges thoſe that govern, to attend the good and intereſt of the whole ſociety, and not to be over ſcrupulous in doing exact juſtice to particular perſons; eſpecially if their intereſt ſhould happen to be different from that of the community. And for this reaſon, thoſe countries, which are moſt remote from the ſeat of the government, ought not to expect an equal participation of liberty and immunities with thoſe that lie at leſs diſtance. For if they ſhould enjoy the ſame previledges, the ſubjection of ſuch nations could not be ſecured. You know, that under the Roman government, the liberties and priviledges of thoſe, who lived in and about the city of Rome, were far greater than the reſt of Italy enjoyed, which yet was poſſeſſed of many more than any of

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the provinces. I doubt not, ſaid I, this order was very proper to retain the dominion of the world in the power of one city. But I think thoſe nations might have lived more happily under another kind of regulation; and am fully perſuaded, that all great governments, whether republics or monarchies, not only diſturb the world in their riſe and fall; but by bringing together ſuch numbers of men, and immenſe riches into one city, inevitably corrupt all good manners, and make them uncapable of order and diſcipline, as you have already owned, and experience has but too well demonſtrated. Rome, the greateſt of all, inceſſantly diſturbed her neighbours for ſeven hundred years; and, after the conqueſt of almoſt all the known world, was corrupted by exceſs of riches and power, and ſpread the infection over all the parts of that empire, which at length brought in ſo many barbarous nations, and cauſed ſo many wars, and ſo great effuſion of blood, that the world ſuffered as much by the overthrow and deſtruction, as by the riſe and continuance, of that mighty power. Yet, ſaid he, I think it is neceſſary, that a conſiderable body of people ſhould be united under one government, and by that means enabled to defend themſelves againſt a powerful enemy, becauſe by the ſucceſsful ambition of ſome men, we frequently ſee great and for-

formidable powers ariſe in the world, to the diſturbance of all their neighbours. In that I perfectly agree with you, ſaid I. Pray then, replied he, what numbers would you allow in ſuch a body of men: or rather, what extent of territory would you think neceſſary to a right diviſion of the world into ſeveral diſtinct governments, ſince you are ſo much an enemy to all great and over-grown powers? (*v*) You ſeem willing, ſaid I, to confer ſuch an office upon me, that thoſe who do not know my name, will take me for a ſecond Phaleg. Not to lay then too great a burdeu upon you at once, anſwered he, I deſire you to acquaint us into what parts you would divide Europe, moſt commodiouſly to obtain the true ends of government. I replied, that God and nature ſeemed to have marked out certain portions of the world for ſeveral great ſocieties of men; having divided them from each other by ſeas and mountains, or ſome remarkable difference of the ſoil and climate. The iſland of Britain and that of Ireland ſeem conveniently ſituated for one government: Spain and Portugal for another, becauſe they lie together in one compact body, and are divided from the reſt of Europe by the Pyrenean mountains. In like manner, France is contained within the Alps, Jura, the Voge, the Ardennes, and the Pyrenees. Italy is ſeparated from all other parts

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by the Alps; and the three adjacent iſlands ſeem naturally to belong to that country. The ſeventeen Provinces, the circles of Weſtphalia and lower Saxony, with the archbiſhopric of Cologn, and kingdom of Denmark, ſeem commodiouſly placed to be united under one goyernment. The reſt of Germany, with the Swiſs Cantons, and the provinces that lie between thoſe countries and the Adriatic ſea, might very well compoſe another. Norway, Sweden, Finland, Liefland, and the northern parts of European Muſcovy, lying under the ſame climate, may be conveniently joined together. Poland, Pruſſia, Lithuania, and the ſouthern parts of the European Muſcovy with the little Tartary, might likewiſe be properly united. The countries that lie to the north of Macedonia and Albania, and on the ſouth of the Carpathian mountains, from Auſtria, Stiria, and Carniola to the Euxin ſea, might be a ninth diſtinct government; and Macedonia, Albania, Theſſaly, Epirus, Achaia, Morea, Negropont, Candia, and the adjacent iſlands, a tenth. And now I think I may reſt, and take breath after ſo long a journey, leaving to any other the liberty of making the like through the other three parts of the world. What all this tends to I cannot imagine, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher; for, by your diviſion, our own government would continue to be of as great extent

extent as now. You ſhall know that, ſaid I, before we part. In the mean time, to juſtify in ſome meaſure the reaſonableneſs of this diviſion, you may conſider, that almoſt every one of the ten parts into which I have divided Europe, ſpeaks a language diſtinct from all the reſt, and that the people are generally of the ſame temper and ſuch like diſpoſitions. Sir Edward, impatient to hear a diſcourſe about ſo many things and places with which he is ſo little acquainted, thought fit to interrupt us; and directing his words to me; Sir, ſaid he, are you undertaking to teach us geography? Will you not allow, ſaid I, a private man to make an imaginary diviſion of countries; when it is well known, that a great king, in the beginning of the laſt age, contrived one of the ſame nature? and you do not yet fully know what uſe I ſhall make of this diviſion. You have led me into ſuch a maze, ſaid the Earl, and raiſed ſo many new thoughts in me, that without regard to our former reaſoning, I muſt purſue ſome of them. That which occurs to me, firſt, is, that if governments, ſo equal in ſtrength, either on account of their riches or ſituation, ſhould come to be eſtabliſhed, mankind might live in greater peace than they do: eſpecially if theſe governments were, by mutual alliances, obliged to preſerve the common tranquillity. But you are to

obſerve, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, the imperfection of this project to preſerve peace in the world. For though one or two of theſe governments might not dare to diſturb and injure the reſt, yet nothing can hinder one half of them from combining againſt the other. And as ſuch wars would be managed by a far greater number of forces than the preſent, mankind muſt of conſequence be made more miſerable. The nature of human affairs is ſuch, ſaid I, that a perpetual peace (*u*) is not to be preſerved among men; yet certainly ſome conſtitutions of government are better fitted to maintain the public tranquillity than others. And in place of the continual great and ruinous wars, which queſtions about the ſucceſſion of princes, and their ambitious deſigns, have intailed upon the world, things might be brought to leſs frequent contentions, and the public animoſities either prevented from proceeding to open breaches; or, if at ſome times wars could no way be avoided, they might be neither laſting nor bloody. If you can ſhew, ſaid he, how ſo happy a ſtate of things may be introduced into the world, you will do the greateſt ſervice imaginable to mankind. For matters are now brought to ſuch a paſs, that in every war, almoſt all Europe and America, with a great part of Aſia and Afirica, become engaged. You are in the right, ſaid I; and theſe univerſal

wars,

wars, as I may call them, which, with little interruption, have continued more than thirty years, have ſo diſtreſſed this part of the world, and occaſioned ſuch diſorder in the affairs of men, that Europe is thought to be diminiſhed a full fifth in value. For wars, beſides that they are become univerſal, are now wholly managed by the force and power of money, and by that means moſt grievouſly oppreſs and afflict, not only the places that are the theatres of action, but even the remoteſt village and moſt ſolitary cottage. And the French king, having, by the oppreſſion of his ſubjects, and exact œconomy of his affairs, been able to keep ſuch great numbers of troops on foot, has obliged the reſt of Europe to a proportionable expence, and thereby made all wars by land, at leaſt twice as chargeable as formerly they were; and by ſea to exceed all example. But to give you my opinion of this matter, I think mankind might be beſt preſerved from ſuch convulſions and miſery, if inſtead of framing governments with regard only to a ſingle ſociety, as I believe all legiſlators have hitherto done, we ſhould conſtitute ſuch as would be no leſs advantageous to our neighbours than ourſelves. You talk ſtrangely, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, as if our advantage were not frequently inconſiſtent with that of our neighbours. I am of opinion, replied I, that the true intereſt and good

of any nation is the ſame with that of any other. I do not ſay that one ſociety ought not to repel the injuries of another; but that no people ever did any injuſtice to a neighbouring nation, except by miſtaking their own intereſt. You talk, ſaid he, of injuſtice, but I ſpeak of advantage. If you go about, ſaid I, to take away, by force, any advantage that belongs to a neighbouring people, you not only do injuſtice to them, but injure yourſelf by the example. Whatever the example be, replied he, the advantage will accrue to my country. For the preſent, and in appearance, ſaid I. But a citizen in the ſervice of his country, ſaid he, is not obliged to the ſame ſcruples as in his private affairs; and muſt be true to his public truſt, and take care that the commonwealth ſuffer no prejudice. Then ſaid I, no man can be a good citizen of a particular commonwealth, and a citizen of the world; no man can be a true friend to this country and to mankind at the ſame time. I confeſs, ſaid he, this concluſion naturally follows: but we may not diſpenſe with the intereſt of our country as with our own; and you know the precepts contained in the ſermon on the mount relate to the actions of private men. Do you think then, ſaid I, that one nation cannot do injuſtice to another? Yes, anſwered he, when that which is done is to the prejudice of both.

And

And do you not alſo think, ſaid I, that one nation may make an unjuſt war againſt another?

Yes.

Then if your country ſhould make ſuch a war with ſucceſs, they would have accompliſhed an unjuſt deſign. True, ſaid he; but if thereby any advantage accrue to the nation, this becomes an acquired right to the people, and ought to be defended by all thoſe who are intruſted with the public affairs. Now, if afterwards it ſhould happen, ſaid I, that ſuch a neighbouring nation ſhould renew the war, in order to recover what they had loſt, would that war be unjuſt on their part?

I think not.

Then you lay a foundation as well for your neighbours to make a juſt war againſt you, as for your own nation to make an advantageous war (which you ſay is not unjuſt) againſt them. This ſure is far from the deſign of aboliſhing wars ſo far as may be poſſible. By what other means then, ſaid he, may we hope to obtain this good end? The moſt effectual way, replied I, is, that all ſuch governments, as are of a ſufficient force to defend themſelves, ſhould be rendered either incapable or unfit to make conqueſts. For the ambitious deſires of men to encreaſe their dominions, have always been the principal cauſe of diſturbing the peace of the world. It is im-

poſſible, ſaid Sir Edward Seymour, to take away that natural and generous inclination which is found in the beſt of men, to extend the empire of their country; eſpecially among us, who have ſuch great examples in our hiſtory to encourage us, and ſo noble and populous a city, which, by being ſituated near the ſouth-eaſt point of the iſland, lies as conveniently to command the north of France, and all the low countries, as the three kingdoms. But Sir, ſaid I, do you approve what Sir Chriſtopher has ſaid, that wars are to be abo-liſhed by all poſſible means? Suppoſe I do, ſaid he; yet how can ſo ſtrong an inclination, found not on-ly in particular men, but ſometimes in the whole body of a people be altered? If the dominions of a ſtate, ſaid I, might not be encreaſed by con-queſt.

How is it poſſible?

If, for example, ſaid I, every one of thoſe ten portions of Europe, I mentioned before, had ten or twelve ſovereign cities well fortified within its territory, each of them poſſeſſing and governing the adjacent diſtrict; ſuch a government, ſtrength-ened with forts in paſſes, and other convenient places, might be very capable to defend itſelf, and yet altogether unfit for conqueſt.

Why ſo?

Becauſe, ſaid I, a conqueſt divided into twelve

twelve parts would be of little account, they could not be made adjacent to the ſeveral cities to which they ought to belong. But, ſaid he, ſuch conquered places might be governed in common to the advantage of the whole union. That, replied I, would be like a poſſeſſion in common, for which no man has any particular affection, and on that account lies always neglected. But you talk, ſaid Sir Edward, of ſovereign cities; I fancy you mean republics; which is nothing to us who live under the benign influence of monarchy. You may ſuppoſe theſe cities, ſaid I, to be the capitals of ſovereign and independent kingdoms or countries. For of ſuch ſovereignties, united under one monarch, we have many examples. And the prince may either keep his court in each of them ſucceſſively; or, which is better, reſide in the country, and permit no more buildings about his palaces than are abſolutely neceſſary for his domeſtics, and the diſpatch of public buſineſs, and not to harbour a crew of lazy, profligate, and vicious wretches, fit only to render his court a mere ſink of corruption, and a ſeminary to propagate all manner of vice through the whole nation. So that we may proceed to reaſon concerning the excellency of thoſe governments, which conſiſt of divers ſovereignties united for their common defence, whether cities or kingdoms;

doms; whether independent already, or to be made ſo in order to put ſuch a deſign in execution; whether governed by a prince, or by a great council of delegates. But certainly, ſaid he, if theſe diſtinct ſovereignties were incorporated under one head and city, ſuch a government would be of greater force. If you mean, ſaid I, to diſturb their own peace, and that of their neighbours, I grant your aſſertion.

How ſo?

You muſt acknowledge, ſaid I, that a great city is more tumultuous and diſorderly, and therefore more capable of diſturbing its own peace than ſmall ones, and much more violently inclined to conquer other countries, becauſe better able to retain the conqueſt. But ſure, ſaid he, if divers ſmall ſovereignties were united under one prince, his authority would better preſerve peace among them, than if they were governed by a council of delegates, which, in my opinion, is only proper to ſet them together by the ears. I am very glad, ſaid I, that you think ſuch united governments more ſuitable to monarchies than to commonwealths: for if that be true, there will be greater hopes of introducing them into the world. And indeed a prince ſeems much more fitted to be at the head of ſuch a league, than a council, as to the military part,

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in which principally ſuch an union has occaſion to exert its power. So that I have nothing more to do than to prove that ſuch governments are, of all others, the beſt to preſerve mankind, as well from great and deſtructive wars, as from corruption of manners, and moſt proper to give to every part of the world that juſt ſhare in the government of themſelves which is due to them. If you can prove, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, what you undertake, I ſhall have no more to ſay. It is indeed, ſaid I, a moſt ſurpriſing thing to me, that not only all thoſe who have ever actually formed governments, but even thoſe who have written on that ſubject, and contrived ſchemes of conſtitutions, have, as I think, always framed them with reſpect only to particular nations, for whom they were deſigned, and without any regard to the reſt of mankind. Since, as they could not but know that every ſociety, as well as every private man, has a natural inclination to exceed in every thing, and draw all advantages to itſelf, they might alſo have ſeen the neceſſity of curbing that exorbitant inclination, and obliging them to conſider the general good and intereſt of mankind, on which that of every diſtinct ſociety does in a great meaſure depend. And one would think that politicians, who ought to be the beſt of all moral philoſophers, ſhould have conſidered what

a citizen of the world is. It is true, ſomething like a conſideration of the common good of mankind appeared in the conſtitution of the Achaian league; and if any of the ancients ever had a right view in this affair, the founders of that government were the men. But the mighty power of the Roman commonwealth oppreſſed them in the very infancy of their eſtabliſhment, and ſo deprived poſterity of a perfect knowledge of the tendency of that conſtitution. Moſt governments have been framed for conqueſts; that is, to diſturb the peace of mankind: though I know that ſome were leſs fitted for conqueſt than others, as the ariſtocratical. But there was nothing, even in thoſe conſtitutions, that could ſufficiently reſtrain the deſire of enlarging their dominions, though no way formed to that end; which has frequently brought great calamities upon many of thoſe governments, as the examples of Venice and Sparta demonſtrate. In the laſt of which, the wiſe legiſlator having formed the manners of the people for war, and the conſtitution altogether unfit to retain conqueſts, I would willingly perſuade myſelf, that he deſigned theſe two things ſhould balance each other, in order to keep that people always exerciſed to arms, and yet not give them the occaſion of riſing to ſuch a height, as would inevitably precipitate them into ruin. And this, I think,

ſhould

ſhould have been obvious to all legiſlators, that whoever contrives to make a people very rich (*x*) and great, lays the foundation of their miſery and deſtruction, which in a ſhort time will neceſſarily overtake them. For ſuch viciſſitudes of human affairs are as certain as thoſe of heat and cold in the revolution of the year; and no condition of men, or public ſocieties, is durable and laſting, except ſuch as are eſtabliſhed in mediocrity. Now, in ſmall governments, laws may be duly executed, and the manners of men in a great meaſure preſerved from corruption; but becauſe ſuch governments are not of force ſufficient to defend themſelves, a conſiderable number of them ſhould be united together for the common ſafety; by which union and league, they will be enabled to reſiſt a powerful invaſion, and yet remain uncapable of conqueſt. The three kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland, may ſerve for an example of this; which, though ſituated on iſlands, are yet in their preſent condition expoſed to the fate of a ſingle battle, if a great army of enemies could be landed near London. But if good forts were erected in the moſt conſiderable paſſes, and twelve cities with all the ſea-ports well fortified, the loſs of many battles would not determine the matter. And conſidering that our naval force might, in a great meaſure, intercept

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the ſupplies of the enemy, we might defend our ſelves againſt all our neighbours. And as ſuch a conſtitution would be altogether unfit to moleſt them, ſo it would give them little encouragement to diſturb our peace. At this rate, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, if we ſhould continue long in peace, and unaccuſtomed to war, we might become a prey to the firſt invader. I anſwered, that I did not think we ought to be wholly unconcerned in the affairs of the continent; but that ſuch a conſtitution would certainly keep us from the danger of making conqueſts abroad, which in the preſent ſtate of things any ambitious prince may attempt. Our militias might be uſefully and honourably imployed in aſſiſting our neighbours to form the like leagues on the continent; and a gradual propagation of ſuch excellent governments would become eaſy, when mankind ſhould be convinced of the great happineſs and ſecurity they would enjoy by living under them. And though theſe leagues might poſſibly, at ſome time, make wars upon one another on occaſion of ſudden pique, or to take revenge for ſome unneighbourly action; yet ſuch wars could not be laſting, becauſe nothing but hopes of making acquiſitions and conqueſts can make them ſo. And as to the advantage of having twelve cities governing themſelves happily and virtuouſly, inſtead of one great vicious and ungovern-

ungovernable city, I leave it to your conſideration, who have ſo judiciouſly ſhewn, that great cities do not only corrupt the manners of their own inhabitants, but thoſe of whole nations, and deſtroy all good government. Cities of a moderate extent are eaſily governed, and the example and authority of one virtuous man is often ſufficient to keep up good order and diſcipline; of which we have divers inſtances in the hiſtory of the Grecian republics: whereas great multitudes of men are always deaf to all remonſtrances, and the frequency of ill example is more powerful than laws. But, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, to reduce London within the compaſs of the old walls, ſeems a thing impracticable. This difficulty will be removed, replied I, when this city ſhall be only the capital of the neighbouring counties. It would be thought injuſtice, ſaid he, to remove the ſeat of the government from a place which has been ſo long poſſeſſed of that great advantage. The injuſtice, ſaid I, has been greater, that one place has ſo long enjoyed thoſe profits which ought to have been divided among the conſiderable cities of the nation. I am afraid, ſaid he, that all endeavours to diſturb the affairs of ſo great a body of people, only out of a remote proſpect of bettering their condition by a new regulation, may fall under the imputation of folly: and that men

would think it hard to be plunged into ſuch difficulties, as ſo great a change would neceſſarily occaſion. Sir, ſaid I, if a French king, when he is in peace with other nations ſhould ſuddenly attack us with his whole power, how can we reſiſt him in our preſent condition; having no fortified cities, and the great ſeat of all our riches and power expoſed to the very firſt inſult of the invader? One would think ſuch a people were predeſtinated to ruin. You talk of the folly and hardſhip of putting men into ſome difficulties by a new regulation of their affairs, and ſeem not to conſider how much more cruel a thing it would be to ſuffer theſe nations to be inſlaved by a foreign invaſion, or inevitably loſe their liberty by that corruption of manners which this vicious and profligate city diffuſes into every part. I did not foreſee, ſaid Sir Chriſtopher, what uſe you would make of my complaint againſt the depravation of manners that reigns in this town, but acknowledge the conſequence you draw to be juſt; and that if we deſign to diminiſh the corruption, we muſt leſſen the city. What viſions have we here, ſaid Sir Edward? deſtroy the greateſt and moſt glorious city of the world to proſecute a whimſical project! Sir, replied I, you have heard what I have anſwered to Sir Chriſtopher; and beſides, do you not think the remoter parts of England

land injured by being obliged to have recourſe to London for almoſt every thing, and particularly for juſtice? Do you not think them wronged, in that almoſt all the treaſure of England is yearly laid out in this place, and by that means the ſubſtance of the other parts exhauſted, and their rents and revenues diminiſhed? This, ſaid he, is of little importance to the nation, ſo long as they continue to riſe in the counties that lie neareſt to the capital. I do not know that, replied I, but am of opinion, that if inſtead of one, we had twelve cities in theſe kingdoms poſſeſſed of equal advantages, ſo many centres of men, riches and power, would be much more advantageous than one. For this vaſt city is like the head of a ricketty child, which, by drawing to itſelf the nouriſhment that ſhould be diſtributed in due proportions to the reſt of the languiſhing body, becomes ſo over-charged, that frenzy and death unavoidably enſue. And if the number of people and their riches would be far greater in twelve cities than now in one, which I think no man will diſpute; and that theſe cities were ſuch as are ſituated in convenient diſtances from each other, the relief and advantages they would bring to every part of theſe kingdoms would be unſpeakable. For example, if the people of Yorkſhire or Devonſhire were not obliged to go farther than York or Ex-

eter to obtain juſtice, and conſequently had no occaſion to ſpend money out of thoſe counties, how ſoon ſhould we ſee another face of things in both? how ſoon would they double and treble their preſent value? That London ſhould draw the riches and government of the three kingdoms to the ſouth-eaſt corner of this iſland, is in ſome degree as unnatural, as for one city to poſſeſs the riches and government of the world. And, as I ſaid before, that men ought to be diſperſed over all countries in greater or leſſer numbers according to the fertility of the ſoil; ſo, no doubt, juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered to all in the moſt convenient manner that may be, and no man obliged to ſeek it at an inconvenient diſtance. And if the other parts of government are not alſo communicated to every conſiderable body of men; but that ſome of them muſt be forced to depend upon others, and be governed by thoſe who reſide far from them, and little value any intereſt except their own, ſtudying rather how to weaken them in order to make ſure of their ſubjection; I ſay, all ſuch governments are violent, unjuſt, and unnatural. I ſhall add, that ſo many different ſeats of government will highly encourage virtue. For all the ſame offices, that belong to a great kingdom, muſt be in each of them; with this difference, that the offices of ſuch a kingdom be-

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ing always burdened with more buſineſs than any one man can rightly execute, moſt things are abandoned to the rapacity of ſervants; and the extravagant profits of all great officers plunge them into all manner of luxury, and debauch them from doing good: whereas the offices of theſe leſſer governments, extending only over a moderate number of people, will be duly executed, and many men have occaſions put into their hands of doing good to their fellow citizens. So many different ſeats of government will highly tend to the improvement of all arts and ſciences; and afford great variety of entertainment to all foreigners and others of a curious and inquiſitive genius, as the ancient cities of Greece did. I perceive now, ſaid Sir Edward, the tendency of all this diſcourſe. On my conſcience he has contrived the whole ſcheme to no other end than to ſet his own country on an equal foot with England and the reſt of the world. To tell you the truth, ſaid I, the inſuperable difficulty I found of making my country happy, by any other way, led me inſenſibly to the diſcovery of theſe things; which, if I miſtake not, have no other tendency than to render, not only my own country, but all mankind, as happy as the imperfections of human nature will admit. For I conſidered, that in a ſtate of ſeparation from England, my coun-

try would be perpetually involved in bloody and deſtructive wars. And if we ſhould be united to that kingdom in any other manner, we muſt of neceſſity fall under the miſerable and languiſhing condition of all places that depend upon a remote ſeat of government. And pray where lies the prejudice, if the three kingdoms were united on ſo equal a foot, as for ever to take away all ſuſpicion and jealouſy of ſeparation? that virtue and induſtry might be univerſally encouraged, and every part contribute chearfully, and in due proportion, to the ſecurity and defence of this union, which will preſerve us ſo effectually from thoſe two great calamities, war and corruption of manners. This is the only juſt and rational kind of union. All other coalitions are but the unjuſt ſubjection of one people to another. Here I ſtopped; but after ſome pauſe, finding the rest of the company ſilent, I continued to ſay, that I would not pretend to determine, whether each of the portions, into which I had divided Europe, ſhould be confined to the preciſe number of twelve cities: though poſſibly if there were more, they might be ſubject to ſome confuſion; and if not ſo many, woud not anſwer the end: that I would not determine whether they ſhould altogether conſiſt of cities that are already conſiderable, as in theſe iſlands are London, Briſtol, Exeter, Chester, Norwich,

wich, York, Stirling, Inverneſs, Dublin, Cork, Galloway, Londonderry; or whether ſome other places more conveniently ſituated for ſtrength, and more capable of fortification, might not rather be of the number. But this eaſy diviſion of territory I think indiſpenſably neceſſary, that to every city all the next adjacent country ſhould belong. I was going on to open many things concerning theſe leagued governments, when a ſervant came to acquaint us that dinner was ſet on the table. We were nobly entertained, and after dinner I took leave of the company, and returned to my lodgings, having promiſed to meet them again at another time to diſcourſe farther on the ſame ſubject.

My Lords, I ſhall add nothing to this account, being perſuaded that ſo long a narration has already ſufficiently tired you.

I am,

Your moſt humble ſervant.

BRITISH
8 JUL 80
MUSEUM

NOTES.

PAGE 111. (*a*) "*To undeceive the multitude.*"—The hiſtory of all ages proves our author's opinion to be founded in experience. Whoever has virtue and reſolution to attempt inſtructing the people, will run the hazard of being torn to pieces by thoſe, who ſhould have protected him. The multitude, deceived by their rulers, not only ſuffer their real friends to be perſecuted, but join in the cry againſt them: and they, who deſerve to be conſidered, as the benefactors of mankind, are ſtigmatized as incendiaries, and treated like the vileſt felons.

Our fathers, with ferocious joy, burned their inſtructors in Smithfield; eager to die their hands, in the blood of innocence. We find fault with the ſanguinary proceedings of our fathers, and yet outſtrip them in cruelty. This conduct has induced many well meaning perſons to wink at the uſurpations of government, looking upon the people as cattle, only fit to be bought and ſold. Why, ſay they, ſhould we forego temporary advantages for thoſe, who are too ignorant to underſtand their real intereſt, and always neglectful of their friends? Why run the hazard of periſhing, in noxious dungeons, or lingering out a miſerable exiſtence on foreign ſhores? Mankind has been the ſame in all ages. Socrates was forced to ſwallow the poiſonous draught, and Cato preferred ſuicide to the ingratitude of his countrymen; the ſtern Brutus was deſerted by the Romans, and

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the guilty Cesar is held up as a model of imitation for our youth. In modern times, Buchanan and Fletcher, Sidney and Milton, Harrington and Locke, have been objects of royal vengeance, whilst the people applauded their persecutions: and are not the bastiles of Europe still crouded with the most virtuous citizens, whose families are languishing in obscurity and want?

The above is a mournful picture of human depravity; and yet the people are neither vicious by nature, nor unmindful of their friends. Unfortunately despotic governments have ten thousand agents at command, preaching passive obedience, and representing every reformer, as an unprincipalled designing knave. The people, feeling themselves aggrieved, and yet ignorant from whence their calamities flow, frequently punish their friends, when they thought they were punishing their enemies; nor can ever this fatal error be prevented till they are better instructed, till a national education supersede a national church, and until the genuine principles of morality and truth supply the place of those pernicious doctrines, which degrade and prepare the juvenile mind for political slavery.

As the consciousness of deserving well of society is a sufficient reward to a virtuous mind, without regard to censure or applause, it is hoped the friends of liberty will not be deterred by the fate of a few. Reason is making rapid progress in the world, and, in the hour of trial, it would be cowardice to shrink from danger. Perhaps we may live to see patriotism honoured and respected; perhaps the reign of delusion is nearly at an end.

Page 113. (*b*) "*He that is armed, is always master of the purse of him that is unarmed.*"—A celebrated legislator, in a neighbouring country observes, that an armed nation

nation never was enſlaved, and that the chief diſtinction, between a freeman and a ſlave, is that of bearing arms—And as the people may be enſlaved, either by foreign or domeſtic enemies, it is of importance, to determine, whether the inhabitants of this country ought to be claſſed amongſt freemen or ſlaves.

Upon enquiry it will be found, that not one, out of ten, except ſuch as are in the pay of government, is acquainted with the uſe of arms:—and Sir William Blackſtone, although no advocate for the rights of the people, very candidly confeſſes, that the game laws were introduced, not ſo much with an intention of preſerving no few wild beaſts, as with a view of diſarming the people. But why were the people diſarmed and claſſed amongſt ſlaves? Is it good policy to truſt the liberty and property of a nation to the diſcretion of mercenary ſoldiers, who have no intereſt in the ſoil, and whoſe breaſts are ſteeled againſt every generous ſentiment? Or can a people be ſaid to have liberty or property, who are liable to be dragooned, at the nod of an ambitious miniſter? Has the miniſter a different intereſt from the people, and is it neceſſary to carry his edicts into execution at the point of the bayonet? Is it true, that oppreſſive taxes have been extorted from the people, and divided amongſt members of parliament, for ſupporting the miniſter in diſarming them; and carrying on cruel and unneceſſary wars? If this really be our ſituation, ſurely the people ought to form themſelves into aſſociations, and learn the uſe of arms. In the mean time, every individual ſhould procure arms for himſelf; for "while a virtuous man ſurvives, no tyrant thinks himſelf ſecure."

Page 127. (c) "*Thoſe great enemies of virtue, want and exceſs of riches.*"—Few political writers have traced the revolutions of empires to their proper ſource. They have libel-

libelled nature, by aſſerting, that whatever had a beginning muſt have an end, and as the republics of Greece and Rome degenerated into deſpotiſms, it is vain to expect any eſtabliſhments can be permanent. Miſtaken mortals! Do the people ever die? Or do the ſeaſons fail to perform their regular courſes? Man firſt runs into errors himſelf, and then imputes his misfortunes to an inviſible cauſe.

It is generally ſaid that a rich nation muſt loſe its liberty; yet no aſſertion can be more fallacious. There is a very great difference between general and individual wealth; and the people are free and happy, in proportion to the wealth they enjoy. When men are obliged to labour and toil, from early on monday morning, till late on ſaturday night, in order to procure a ſcanty ſubſiſtence, the mind becomes ſluggiſh and careleſs; and the want of information will certainly throw them into a ſtate of ſervitude. Kings and prieſts dread a wealthy, as much as an enlightened peaſantry; and it is proverbial, that the more ignorant and the poorer a mercenary army, the more obedient ſoldiers.

As ſoon as one man gets poſſeſſion of too much wealth, which is another term for power, his neighbours muſt have too little. Jealouſies will ariſe. He will become tyrannical and unjuſt, they ſlaviſh, mean and deceitful; for he who cringes and bends the knee, whatever appearances he may aſſume, is in his heart a conſpirator. Good offices are mutual; and though the people fear, they cannot reſpect thoſe who treat them with diſdain. And a ſtate, compoſed of members, who deſpiſe and envy one another, can neither be ſecure nor laſting. It is for want of underſtanding the true balance of wealth, that the world has been ſo often deluged with blood; nor can man hope to enjoy felicity, till the few are deprived of the means of enſlaving the many.

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The land through which the Nile flows, in one ſtream, is parched and barren; but where it divides itſelf into many branches, the earth is covered with corn and cattle, and all nature ſeems chearful and contented.*

Page 134 (*d*) "*Returned Members of Parliament.*"—What Fletcher ſo clearly foreſaw has taken place in our days. Perhaps above two thirds of the members of the houſe of commons have commiſſions in the army or navy. They are, with few exceptions, ſoldiers of fortune, or the younger ſons of placemen and penſioners, brought into parliament, through the influence of the crown. Such men have no voice of their own, and are engaged to ſupport the miniſter on all occaſions. Were the people to complain of their grievances, theſe very members of parliament, who ought to have been their guardians, may be ſent to dragoon them into ſubmiſſion, for they are ſubject to military law themſelves; and hence a ſenate, inſtituted for their protection, may become the very inſtruments of their deſtruction.

When a member obtains a ſeat, in the houſe of commons, through the influence of the miniſter or oppoſition, it is underſtood, that he is to vote with his patrons, on all queſtions of importance, whether right or wrong. Should he act otherwiſe, although in obedience to the dictates of his conſcience, he is ſuppoſed to have forfeited his honour, and no member takes the leaſt notice of him. But, when elected, by a numerous body of men, in conſequence of having ſolemnly promiſed to obey their commands, he ſeldom heſitates to violate his engagements, and vote, contrary to the expreſs orders of his conſtituents: and yet, ſo far from having disgraced himſelf in the opinion of ariſtocracy,

* *Harrington.*

he is ſtill, according to the modern vocabulary, an honourable man.

It is a conſolation, however melancholy, that the rage of deſpotiſm exhauſts itſelf. Moſt of thoſe miſguided men, who perſecuted the friends of freedom in Birmingham and Mancheſter, enliſted in the army, and have fallen victims to diſeaſe or the ſword. The preſent recruits do not enliſt from choice, but from neceſſity. They are not men of blood; and ſhould any miniſter attempt to break through the laws, and deprive the people of their remaining liberties, perhaps they may recollect that they were citizens, before they were ſoldiers, and that the laws of nature are more ſacred than the edicts of a court.

Page 135 (*e*) "*Standing armies of mercenaries.*"—Leaſt the army ſhould retain ſome feeling for the wrongs of their countrymen, almoſt every tyrant is ſurrounded by foreign guards. It is not forgotten, that the Scots were employed, againſt the Engliſh, in quelling, what was called, popular inſurrections, during the adminiſtration of the earl of Bute. The Engliſh are now performing a ſimilar tragedy in Scotland, and the unfortunate inhabitants of Tranent will long conſider the cinque port cavalry, in the light of aſſaſſins. A deſigning miniſter foſters the prejudices of the people, and excites the reſentment of one province againſt another; and, by artfully throwing his influence into the lighter ſcale, contrives to domineer over the whole.

Religion was long the bane of Iriſh proſperity. Sometimes the proteſtant has been excited to deſtroy the catholic; at other times, the catholic was ſtimulated to butcher the proteſtant in cold blood. But ſince an union of the different religious parties began to take place in Ireland, the Scots and Engliſh and more particularly the Welſh have been the prin-

principal actors in these barbarous scenes.—The smoaking ruins of Ulster, and the heart-piercing cries of widows and orphans will be best described, by the pen of the historian. If the irish volunteers, who were natives of the country, and interested in its welfare, had not surrendered their arms to the agents of government, they would not have had to bewail their deserted fields, nor seen their families at the mercy of a military banditti.

Page 138 *(f)* "*Well-regulated militias.*"—Had not the american revolution furnished a memorable proof of the superior bravery of militias, when general Burgoyne, with the flower of the british troops, were compelled to lay down their arms to an association of husbandmen; the surprising victories of the French, in the present war, ought to remove all doubts from the most sceptical. The battle of Gemappe was won by new levies and apprentices from Paris, and the best disciplined soldiers, in Europe, have been compelled to fly before men of the first requisition; principally composed of tradesmen and mechanics. The majority of Buonaparte's army was made up of Italians, totally unacquainted with the use of arms, and sunk in the most abject slavery; and yet an enthusiasm for liberty, and the example of the French inspired them with a love of glory, and enabled them to triumph over the mercenary legions of Germany.

Indeed the courage and heroism of an army depend upon its interest in the struggle. The soldier, who fights for pay, without venturing to examine the cause, cannot exert the same faculties, as he, who fights for liberty. Whatever may be the event of the contest, the mercenary continues a slave, without reaping any benefit from the victory. Militias, on the other hand, being part of the people, and possessing reflective courage, fight for every thing that is dear to them;

and upon their return home, enjoy, in ſafety, the fruits of their labour.—And yet it ſometimes happens, that mercenary armies, eſpecially when inflamed with religious notions, have diſplayed much bravery for a ſhort time; but they cannot be prevailed upon to perſevere. As ſoon as they diſcover their error, their reſolution gives way, and they not unfrequently turn thoſe arms againſt their employers, which they took up in their defence.

Some maintain that courage is local; ſome think it hereditary; and others believe, that the forms of government produce the principal difference, in the human character, grounding their opinion upon hiſtorical facts.—Perhaps if the natives of Hindoſtan were influenced by the ſpirit of liberty, they would rival the modern French, and expel their invaders in a ſingle campaign.

Page 147 (g) "*Maintain a horſe.*"—There ought to be no invidious diſtinctions, in a free country. Every one ſhould contribute to ſupport the ſtate, in proportion to his ability; and every ſervant of the public ſhould be paid for his labour. The patricians of Rome, like the members of the britiſh legiſlature, ſerved without pay; and the former betrayed their country.—The latter are all honourable men.

A cuſtom prevails, at the engliſh Univerſities, unworthy of ſeminaries of learning. The ſtudents, maintained on the foundation, are obliged to ſtand, with their thumbs acroſs, whilſt thoſe, who defray the expences of their own education, are eating their dinners. When theſe degraded beings are made rectors of pariſhes and juſtices of the peace, they, in general, treat their inferiors, with the ſame inſolence, with which they have been treated themſelves; and this is called the neceſſary preſervation of rank and ſubordination. I have often heard military men ſay, that

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boys, brought up at charity ſchools, and compelled to wear a badge of diſtinction, become the fittest instruments for deſpotiſm. As matters now stand, theſe distinctions may be neceſſary; in a new order of things, they ought to be guarded against with the utmost care.

Page 149 (*b*) "*Churchmen.*"—Fletcher has very properly excluded churchmen, of whoſe attachment to liberty, he had no favourable opinion. As it is difficult to perceive the ſmallest connection, between morality and the belief of particular forms of worſhip, perhaps all alluſions to religion ſhould be avoided. The ſurest method of baniſhing ſuperstition is to aboliſh all church establiſhments, and treat the bigot with ſilent contempt. When priests are neither payed, nor perſecuted, they will ceaſe to disturb the repoſe of mankind. Above all, the youth ſhould be taught the principles of genuine morality; eſpecially the advantages and ſimplicity of a repreſentative government.—A political creed, ſuch as the declaration of rights, if committed to memory, would be productive of much good.

Page 150 (*i*) "*No woman in the camp—certain crimes puniſhed with death.*"—In a well-regulated ſociety, where every individual would have the means of procuring the conveniences of life, the puniſhment of death might be aboliſhed with ſafety; nor can we ſee the neceſſity of prohibiting women with ſo much ſeverity.—But theſe regulations which are only the details of the general plan, may be varied, according to time and circumstances.

Page 152 (*k*) "*Foreign country*"—No nation ought to lend its citizens for hire. It is as impolitic as unjust, and cannot be too much reprobated by the friends of morality. Indeed no state has a right to interfere in the affairs of another, unleſs it be to aſſist the people, in breaking their chains.

On this ſubject, there can be no doubt, which ſide is fighting for liberty, for both parties will make that the pretence; becauſe, if the few oppoſe the will of the many, it muſt be a ſtruggle in favour of deſpotiſm; and, if the many attempt to reform their government, though oppoſed by the few, it muſt be a ſtruggle in favour of liberty. The voice of the people is the voice of god; and to aſſiſt the oppreſſed, is a generous manly action. To aid a tyrant in enſlaving his ſubjects, or to ſhare the ſpoil, is unworthy of a free people.

Page 156 (*l*) "*Conqueſt is not our intereſt.*"—This is a very juſt obſervation, and yet no nation was ever ſo bent on conqueſt as Great Britain. The origin of this paſſion may be traced to the materials of which our government is compoſed. Free nations cannot, without violating the moſt ſacred rights, attempt to enſlave their neighbours. If any ſtate lie groaning, under the iron rod of deſpotiſm, and the unhappy ſubjects apply for aſſiſtance, it ought to be granted; and when reſcued from ſlavery, they ſhould be left, without any reſtraint, to form laws and regulations for themſelves. If their deliverers interfere in their domeſtic concerns, from friends, they will degenerate into tyrants.

A government, not elected by the people, will be ſure to enſlave, provided they be able to ſubdue their neighbours. Indeed it is difficult to determine, whether the friendſhip or enmity of ſuch a government be moſt dangerous; for the court of a deſpot, the true poiſon tree of the Indies, infects every thing that comes within its reach. Yet both the free and deſpotic governments act a very conſiſtent part; for it is the intereſt of the free to ſee all their neighbours comfortable and happy. But it would be prepoſterous to ſuppoſe, deſpotic governments inclined to give liberty to their

their neighbours. It would be a dangerous example to their own ſlaves. The auxiliaries of America proved bad ſubjects in France.—And whatever government is ſuffered to enſlave foreign nations, or it's own colonies abroad, will ſooner or later enſlave the people at home.

Little did the inhabitants of Great Britain think they were preparing fetters for themſelves, when rejoicing at the victories obtained in the eaſt and weſt Indies. They did not attend to this ſublime truth, that the great body of the people are never enriched by conqueſts, and that no nation ever enſlaved its neighbours, and preſerved its own liberty at the ſame time. Had the government employed the men and money, in improving the country, which have been conſumed in cruel wars, Britain would have contained twice the number of her preſent inhabitants, and ten times her preſent wealth.

There are monſters in ſociety, who prefer tyrannizing over miſerable ſlaves, to living upon an equality with freemen. And as the ſacred flame of liberty has never been extinguiſhed in this country, they reckon it good policy in miniſters, to buoy up the people, with the hopes of foreign conqueſt. The human mind muſt have ſome object to contemplate, and whilſt it is roaming abroad, it forgets reform at home. Common ſenſe tells us, that every country is the property of its inhabitants, and the government, which ſeizes the property of its neighbours, is more criminal, in the eye of reaſon, then the midnight thief. Unfortunately it is ſeldom practicable to bring ſucceſsful plunderers before the tribunal of juſtice.

It is aſtoniſhing, with what prejudice the inhabitants of Britain look upon their government. Many blame the french republic for ſending their felons to Wales, although

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Great Britain was at war with France, and yet few find fault with England for ſending thieves to Botany Bay; the natives of which never did us the leaſt injury.

Page 158 (*m*) "*Commonalty of England.*"—The population of Great Britain has been decreaſing for the laſt century, notwithſtanding the vapouring declamations of Mr. Pitt and his friends. According to the ingenious Dr. Price, there were above 1,400,000 houſes in England and Wales before the revolution, either charged, chargeable, or excuſed from paying taxes. In the year 1777, they only amounted to 952,734, and it is extremely probable, they do not exceed 900,000 at preſent. The city of London, and ſome other great towns, have increaſed conſiderably; yet it has been at the expence of the country. And how could it be otherwiſe, ſince we have been almoſt continually engaged in foreign wars, with a domeſtic policy equally fatal to population? Foreign wars, which are nothing more than an organized ſyſtem of robbery and murder, unleſs undertaken in our own defence, have enriched a few miniſterial ſycophants, whilſt they have, by means of taxes impoſed, and the great number of widows and fatherleſs children left unprovided for, annihilated the commonalty, or reduced them to a ſtate of dependence, unknown to our fathers.

Every nabob becomes a purchaſer of eſtates, laying waſte large farms, for the maintenance of his dogs and horſes, which compel the former occupier to emigrate, or engage in his ſervice. The man, who has ſtrewed the plains of India with human bodies, and been the willing inſtrument of reducing millions to a ſtate of ſlavery, cannot be ſolicitous about the liberty of his own country. The very ſemblance of virtue reminds him of his guilt. Beſides, it

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is well known, that a numerous train of ſervants is unfavourable to population; neither their wages, nor the diſpoſition of their maſters permit them to marry. But what muſt be the fate of a country, when there are only two deſcriptions of people in it, rich and poor? Is it certain, that ſervants, without the ties of family or kindred, and degraded in the eye of the law, can be depended on, in the hour of danger? The loſs of a battle may be to them the ſignal of inſurrection; and the want of a brave peaſantry would then be ſeverely felt.

A lord Cremorne, one of Mr. Pitt's peers, in the fervour of his loyalty, advertizes, that he has founded his ſervants, and, finding them ſtaunch to the royal cauſe, provided them with carbines. He adds, that they are prepared to defend his houſe and property againſt jacobins and levellers.—Unthinking man! experience will prove, that upſtart nobility, east india nabobs, contractors and monopolizers have contributed more, than all the philoſophers and jacobins of the age, to haſten the diſſolution of the preſent ſyſtem.

Page 164 *(n)* "*Common proſtitutes.*"—The number of common proſtitutes in London exceed 50,000. Various regulations have been made to check this growing evil; and a ſex, weak and defenceleſs, have alternately been the victims of luſt, and the objects of perſecution. Senators have been heard to boaſt of the number of females they have betrayed, by means of falſe promiſes and inſidious arts, and judges have frequently left the bed of pleaſure, to commit unfortunate women to cold dungeons and noxious cells.

An erroneous opinion condemns woman to laſting infamy for ſuffering herſelf to be deceived, whilſt man prides himſelf

himſelf upon his illicit amours, and is courted by the faſhionable circles, in proportion to the number of females he has ruined.—Surely if want of chaſtity be puniſhable, it cannot be leſs ſo in man than in woman.—If the female be the weaker veſſel ought not her errors to be treated with more lenity? What is the origin of this partial, of this unjuſt, prepoſterous diſtinction? The anſwer is very ſimple. Becauſe women were never conſulted, in making the laws, and no man ever made a law injurious to himſelf.

Why is the monarch honoured with a triumph for pillaging provinces, whilſt the peaſant is puniſhed with death, for ſtealing a morſel of bread? Becauſe the will of the monarch is the law, and the will of the peaſant was never conſulted. Had women and peaſants been the legiſlators, the ſentences had been reverſed; the breach of chastity had been infamous in man, and the triumph of the monarch converted into a funeral pile.

There are, upon an average, an equal number of male and female births; and it is well known, when youth firſt begin to feel the paſſion of love, it is not for a promiſcuous commerce. They place their affections on ſome particular object, and there can be little doubt of a lasting connection, were it not for the difficulty of providing for a family.

The unnatural law of primogeniture is extremely pernicious in this reſpect. The younger brothers, unable to marry from their poverty, debauch every woman that comes in their way.—As male ſervants in the retinue of ariſtocracy, are generally forbidden to enter into matrimonial engagements, they are injurious to morals; and wars, which cut off ſo many thouſands in the vigour of youth, contribute their part. By theſe, and other partial inſtitutions, the number of females comes to exceed the males;

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and as nature must have her courſe, ſhe, who cannot find a huſband, will not be very ſcrupulous in admitting a gallant.

There are few proſtitutes in America or other countries, where republicaniſm prevails, becauſe it is an eaſy matter to provide for a family. In Italy and England they very much abound. The only way of leſſening the evil, is to aboliſh the laws of primogeniture, monopolies and all partial privileges; and inſtitute ſuch a reform, as would enable every one to maintain a family by moderate labour.

Page 165 (*o*) "*Gaming*."—There are two ranks, in ſociety, particularly addicted to gaming, viz. the very rich, and the very poor. In Ruſſia it is no uncommon thing to ſee a peaſant venture every thing he poſſeſſes, at a ſingle ſtake, and then ſell himſelf, his wife, and children, that he may indulge this propenſity for a few ſeconds longer. Nor is it to be wondered at, if we ſuffer ourſelves to reflect. The prince has been taught, to conſider the reſt of mankind, as inferior beings, and can have no pleaſure in their converſation. He is a ſolitary individual, and at a loſs how to diſpoſe of his time, plunges into every exceſs, well knowing, the laws cannot puniſh him for his extravagance. The peaſant, borne down with misfortune, and finding himſelf vilified, on account of his poverty, looks upon money, as the ſupreme good and ventures every thing to acquire it. It is of no avail that princes and legiſlators prohibit gaming, when they themſelves ſhew a bad example.

Prohibitory laws are the offspring of ignorant or wicked politicians, who, to uſe Fletcher's words, "firſt encourage, and then reſtrain the corruption of morals." The king of Spain prohibits the exportation of gold from his dominions,

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under ſevere penalties, and yet the natives of thoſe countries, where goods are manufactured and industry promoted, poſſeſs more gold than the Spaniards themſelves.—Could the king of Spain be perſuaded to reward labour, with a moderate competency, and aboliſh thoſe monaſtic receptacles, where hypocritical drones conſume the produce of the earth, it would have a better effect than prohibitory laws. The only certain method of preventing gaming is to make just laws, protect agriculture and give due encouragement to industry.

During the old deſpotiſm of France, gaming was carried to the ſame height in Paris, as it is in London at preſent. It was never prevalent in Geneva, Holland, Switzerland or America. Tyrants and ſlaves are victims to its influence. In a free country, few men will riſk their independence upon the caſt of a die. It is worthy of remark, that the gaming table is chiefly frequented by princes, ruined nobility, officers of mercenary armies, monopolizers, ſtock-brokers, prieſts, and ſwindlers of various deſcriptions. The country gentleman, farmer, tradeſman and mechanic ſhun it, as they would the peſtilence.

Page 173 (*p*) "*A young prince.*"—This is a moſt happy attack on hereditary legiſlators. Young men, in general, are free from that duplicity which diſgraces thoſe who have been long ſubjected to the baneful influence of courts; for nothing, except a gradual progreſs in vice, could prepare the mind for acting the part of our modern ſtatesmen. If, however, young men are incapable of giving their opinion in the ſenate; how much more incapable muſt a young prince be of legiſlating for a mighty empire? May not he, with the beſt poſſible intentions, be eaſily deceived, by old courtiers or young favourites? And

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ſince it is precarious for one perſon to depend on the bounty of another for ſubſiſtence, it is ſurely much more ſo for a nation to depend, on the honour of a prince, for peace or war, good or bad laws. If every individual be affected by the laws, ſurely they ought to be conſulted in framing them; ſince laws, morally ſpeaking, cannot bind thoſe, without whoſe advice or approbation they were made.

Page 180 *(q)* "*Limitations are contrary to the nature of princes.*"—Chief magiſtrates, whether they be denominated emperors, kings or directors, muſt either have been elected by the people, or acquired their power by conqueſt. If elected by the people, they ought to obey their orders; for the law, as Buchanan ingeniouſly obſerves, is greater than the magiſtrate, and the people greater than the law. Hiſtory proves, that the Engliſh as late as the year 447, elected or depoſed their kings at pleaſure. And the Scots put no leſs than fifteen of their kings to death, for encroaching upon the liberties of the people. When they filled their office with integrity, they were honoured and rewarded; if they neglected their duty or embezzled the public money, they were diſcharged, or puniſhed according to the injury they had done. Indeed it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe our fathers had not the ſame right to diſcharge their principal magiſtrate, if he violated his truſt, that an individual has to diſcharge his domeſtic.

If any magiſtrate has acquired his elevation by conqueſt, the people have a right to reſiſt, as ſoon as they poſſeſs the power; for a tyrant can have no juſter claim to the wealth of the nation he has ſubdued, than a highwayman has to the plunder he has ſeized. The only difference between them is this, the highwayman is ſometimes compelled by want, the tyrant acts from a luſt of power. The highwayman only injures a few individuals, the tyrant lays waſte

whole provinces with fire and ſword, wantonly ſpilling the blood of thouſands.

Page 183 (*r*) "*Poverty of our country.*"—A great deal has been ſaid about the poverty of the Scots and Iriſh, and it has been even imputed to them as a crime, by thoſe ſhallow obſervers, who do not underſtand the cauſes from which the poverty or riches of a country ariſe. But as it cannot be denied that both Scotland and Ireland have been, and ſtill continue poor, it is ſurely very ungenerous in the cabinet of St. James's to extort ſo much money from them; eſpecially if it be true, as Mr. Sheridan affirmed in the houſe of commons, "that the Scots nation had juſt as much intereſt in the government of Britain, as the miners of Siberia have in that of Ruſſia."

Sir John Sinclair, in his hiſtory of the public revenue, proves, beyond the poſſibility of doubt, that the taxes levied in Scotland amount annually to £1,100,000, whereof £500,000 are ſpent in the country, and the reſt paid into the exchequer at London; not to enrich the people of England, but to enable the miniſter to bully and ſubjugate every nation, incapable of defending itſelf.

Italy is juſtly reckoned the garden of Europe, and yet the inhabitants are poor and wretched in the extreme. The city of Naples alone contains 50,000 beggars, who ſleep all night in the open air, and exiſt entirely by charity. A committee, conſiſting of the lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, reports, that there are upwards of 20,000 mechanics and labourers in that city, reduced to live on 5d. per week, without rags to cover their nakedneſs, and abſolutely periſhing of want. Dr. Davenant, in his ſketches of the hiſtory of man, ſays there are 1,200,000 people who receive alms

alms in England.—And in London, according to Dr. Goldſmith, thouſands literally die of famine.

The Dutch who are the moſt wealthy people in Europe, draw a great part of their riches from the coaſt of Scotland, where the fiſheries are inexhauſtible. When we hear of the poverty of a nation there are grounds for thinking unfavourably of its government, which, by means of bribery and corruption, attracts the rich to court and drives the poor into the army. A St. James's will be always accompanied by a St. Giles's. Indeed if the £600,000, which is paid into the exchequer at London, independent of about £300,000 more ſpent by abſentees, had been laid out in improving the country, the Engliſh would not have been poorer, and the Scots one of the richeſt nations on the globe. It requires nothing but peace and equal laws to enrich any country; and though thoſe bleſt with a more fertile ſoil and happier climate, would obtain the conveniences of life with le's l. bour, yet thoſe who inhabit craggy mountains and fenny bogs, ſuch is the induſtry of man, would be independent, happy and comfortable.

Page 186 (*s*) "*Pride of our commonalty, and their indiſpoſition to labour.*"—All nations are equally inclined to induſtry, and willing to labour for whatever nature requires. —But what inducement has man to exert himſelf, if partial laws deprive him of the fruits of his induſtry? Why toil and ſweat to increaſe the ſtores of his oppreſſors? The inhabitants of Turkey and Spain, the two moſt indolent nations in Europe, would ſhew the ſame diſpoſiti.n to labour, as the Americans and Dutch, provided their property was protected and induſtry rewarded. In countries where barbarous inſtitutions prevail, where a haughty ariſtocracy value themſelves upon the antiquity of their families; and where none can expect to arrive at honour and preferment,

unleſs they can boaſt of royal or noble blood, or are mean enough to flatter the miniſter of the day, genius muſt, languiſh in obſcurity, agriculture and commerce lie neglected.

Such were lately the prejudices of the Scots ariſtocracy, that a gentleman was degraded by following any uſeful employment, the youth were impreſſed with erroneous ideas of honour, and to aſſociate with a tradeſman was reckoned a diſgrace. As the country was too poor, in conſequence of the tribute paid to England, to ſupply penſions to all the younger children, their fathers, who were as ſervile at court, as tyrannical to their dependents as home, generally procured commiſſions for them in the eaſt and west Indies, where they exerciſe the ſame cruelty upon the defenceleſs inhabitants, that they have ſeen practiſed in their own country: and thus a nation groaning under oppreſſion itſelf, has expended its blood and treaſure in enſlaving others.

Fortunately for humanity, a revolution has taken place in the public mind. The people in Scotland particularly about Glaſgow, Paiſley and Perth, from whom the inhabitants in the north of Ireland are deſcended, have a proper ſenſe of their ſituation, and will embrace the first opportunity of ameliorating their condition.

Page 189 "*Depend no longer upon England.*"—According to Sir William Petty's political anatomy, the inhabitants of Ireland, in the year 1641. amounted to 1,466,000.—And Sir John Davis ſays, that even in times of peace, it was judged no felony to kill a mere Iriſhman. Owing to a variety of cauſes, the population is perhaps double of what it was a century ago, and yet the britiſh miniſtry continue to breathe the ſame hoſtile diſpoſition. In their ſyſtem of oppreſſion they have all acted a conſiſtent part.—As long as the Iriſh were divided into religious ſects

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it was eaſy to enſlave them; for whilſt they were diſputing about the government of the next world, their tyrants were laughing at their credulity, and enjoying the pleaſures of this.

The revolutions of America and France have had a powerful influence upon Ireland; and it is no longer poſſible to govern it by the former means. The Iriſh might ſtill be faithful allies, but they will not continue obedient ſlaves. —And ſince it has been reſolved to ſubdue the riſing ſpirit of that long injured nation, the moſt ſerious conſequences may be expected; for unleſs the flower of their youth be extirpated, it will not be practicable to treat them as a conquered people.

If it be true, that the reſentment of men, who break their chains, is exactly in proportion to the injuries they have received, the vengeance of the Iriſh muſt be terrible. Prieſts and courtiers may call it maſſacres, or what they pleaſe: the moraliſt will impute it to the infamous ſyſtem under which they groan.

Page 194 (*t*) "*Scurrilous expreſſions.*"—The brutal inſolence of the Engliſh to ſtrangers has been long proverbial. They are treated with reſpect every where upon the continent, and yet they are continually loading other nations with opprobrious epithets. What is the cauſe of this diſpoſition? Does it ariſe from the climate, or the laws of the country? Or are there any peculiarities in the compoſition of an Engliſhman? How happens it that whilst the priest fosters this malevolent ſpirit in the peaſant, ſome of the natives ſhould poſſeſs the most benevolent hearts, the most generous and diſinterested philanthropy? Perhaps the former is ſecretly influenced by the court, whilst the genuine ſpirit of liberty, tranſmitted to them by a few of their ancestors,

influences the latter. Perhaps if penſioned divines would forbear calling other nations heathens, barbarians and the like, the people would not be ſo fond of wars and bloodſhed. Perhaps ſuch amuſements as boxing, bull-baiting, cock-fighting, &c. have a tendency to make the multitude ferocious and cruel.

The encouraging ſuch a temper is unfavourable to every virtuous ſentiment, it engenders hatred and ſtrife, and perpetuates the horrid ſyſtem of war and plunder. Could the actions of individuals diſgrace a nation, ſurely England must rank high in the black catalogue of crimes; but it cannot be too often repeated, that good or bad governments ſtamp the character of a nation.—The priest adviſes us to reform ourſelves, and the government will become good; the moraliſt knows, if the government be founded in juſtice, the people must become good; and that partial reforms are of no avail. If the ſpring be corrupt, the waters, which flow from it, must partake of its qualities.

Page 203 (*v*) "*Over-grown powers.*"—It has been long a matter of doubt, amongst philoſophers, whether a republican government ſuited an extenſive territory; and Monteſquieu has rather inclined to the negative.—And yet the hiſtory of Greece and Rome, modern Europe and America are examples of the contrary; nor was ever a republic, as the ingenious Harrington obſerves, deſtroyed from the extent of its territory or by a monarchical force. Greece and Rome fell into decay, from their neglecting to preſerve the political balance. I mean from the great number of their ſlaves, who were ready to favour any invader; and from their ſuffering a few individuals to engroſs too much power,—"Before the deſtruction of the roman commonwealth it was in the hands of three men, viz. Ceſar, Pompey and Craſſus."

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In the preſent state of things, it would have been extremely improper in the Americans and French to have divided their country into ſmall ſtates; for the confederacy might have been broken, and the whole destroyed, whilst each was employed in its domestic concerns. Yet in the progreſs of civilization, when a few individuals will neither have the ambition nor the power, to disturb the repoſe of mankind, it is highly probable, the world will be divided into a great number of ſmall independent states, exchanging the ſuperfluities of their reſpective industry, and living on terms of fraternity with one another.

It is ridiculous to ſee a native of the Orkneys legiſlating for the people of the east Indies, with whoſe ſoil, climate, customs and manners, he is totally unacquainted; nor is it leſs ridiculous to hear an engliſh biſhop debating about catching fiſh in the Hebrides.—As the property of every country belongs to its inhabitants, the laws, to ſecure that property, ought to be the emanation of their own will.

Page 206 *(u)* "*Perpetual peace.*"—The greatest enemy of mankind is man. The most ferocious beasts live on terms of amity, and are never known to devour their own ſpecies; and yet man, who prides himſelf upon the ſuperiority of his reaſon, is not only at war with the whole creation, but likewiſe with his own kind. He is the only animal, if the cat be excepted, who tortures his priſoners, and inflicts death with ſtudied, deliberate cruelty. Is this diſpoſition natural to man?—Or is it the effect of partial laws; which repreſent his neighbours as enemies, and teach him that his happineſs depends on their deſtruction? Were it a natural diſpoſition to injure our neighbours without reaping any benefit to ourſelves it would be vain to attempt reſtraining it; for art may aſſiſt nature, but it never ought to oppoſe

poſe her. Fortunately ſuch a diſpoſition is contrary to nature—it is the effect of partial laws.

When tyrants make war, they enrage the minds of the people against their neighbours, that they may the more eaſily deprive them of their liberties, and provide for their favourites at the public expence. Whatever their profeſſions may be, their principal object is to enſlave their own ſubjects; and this they can never ſo effectually do, as by declaiming against their neighbours. The people ſeldom perceive, that in abuſing other nations, they in reality degrade themſelves.

When men become more enlightened they will diſcover that their interest conſists in cultivating the arts of peace; and a diſpute between nations will be as eaſily ſettled, as a diſpute between individuals. A perpetual peace may be eſtabliſhed, provided the political balance is ſo fixed, as that "no number of men having the interest, can have the power or strength; and no number of men having the power or strength can have the interest to disturb the government."

Page 215 *(x)* "*Very rich.*"—One of the police magiſtrates, in a late publication, eſtimates the number of people in London, who live without any employment, uſeful to ſociety, at 115,000. He adds crimes, or in other words thieves, keep pace with the increaſe of wealth. He ſhould have ſaid, with the unequal diſtribution of it; and yet notwithſtanding this egregious blunder, of which a ſchool boy ought to be aſhamed, the univerſity of Glaſgow has honoured him with a degree of L. L. D.—So much for the judgement of univerſity politicians.

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POSTSCRIPT.

TO THE PEOPLE.

A Liberal public will naturally excuſe whatever omiſſions may appear in the arrangement of Fletcher's life, when informed, that upon the fifth of May, about the time it was ſent to preſs, Mr. Cox, a kings meſſenger, accompanied by ſeveral Bow-Street officers, entered my apartments in Spa-Fields, in conſequence of a warrant from the duke of PORTLAND, and carried away part of my private property, after breaking open my trunks and deſtroying my furniture. The hireling newſpapers of the day report their having found, in my poſſeſſion, papers of much importance, not only involving me, but the popular ſocieties, and many reſpectable individuals, in treaſonable correſpondence

with

with the French. The truth is, they found no political writings of any kind whatever. But if the duke of PORTLAND had acted the part of a good citizen, and ſent a meſſage requeſting my attendance at the privy council, I ſhould have inſtantly complied; but I hate compulſion of every kind, and do not chooſe to be dragooned like a ſlave.—And after ſuffering two years and three months impriſonment in the dungeons of Newgate, under a groundleſs ſuſpicion of having intended to raiſe rebellion againſt the king, and being now under heavy bail, it cannot be matter of ſurpriſe, that I have an averſion to baſtiles, and that I ſhould endeavour to preſerve my liberty till more happy times and brighter proſpects.

The readers of this work will obſerve a promiſe to tranſlate the de Jure Regni of the celebrated GEORGE BUCHANAN, who was the father of pure republicaniſm. That promiſe I ſhall fulfill, as ſoon as circumſtances permit, and accompany it with a ſketch of his life and writings. In the

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mean time, the friends of freedom are reſpectfully requeſted to collect ſuch materials, as may aſſiſt, in reſcuing from calumny, the greateſt politician that ever Britain produced.

R. WATSON.

ERRATA.

Page 13, line 21, for "ſtate of the ſociety" read "ſtate of ſociety."
Page 57, line 12, for "havs" read "have."
Page 63, line 2, for "father debts" read "father's debts."
Page 75, line 28, for "kings and is miniſters" read "kings and miniſters."
Page 78, line 8, for "brutal Johnſton" read "brutal Johnſon."
Page 79, line 7, for "actual incendiary" read "active incendiary."
Page 84, line 21, for "Sootland" read "Scotland."
Page 96, line 7, for "as diſguſting" read "ſo diſguſting."
Page 113, laſt line, for "maſter" read "againſt."
Page 150, line 11, for "this" read "theſe."
Page 171, line 13, for "pplication" read "application."
Page 175, line 16, for "degan" read "began."
Page 179, line 22, for "dimiſh" read "diminiſh."
..... line 25, for "effential" read "eſſential"
Page 226, line 13, for "unprincipalled" read "unprincipled."
Page 227, line 12, for "no few" read "a few."

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